

**RASH BEHARI BASU
HIS
STRUGGLE FOR INDIA'S
INDEPENDENCE**

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BIPLABI MAHANAYAK RASH BEHARI

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Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose at Singapore.

FOREWORD

Shri Rashbehari Basu is one of those famous names which was on the lips of those of the younger generation during the early part of the 20th century, who were fired with deep patriotic urges and emotions. Shri Basu was dedicated to the freedom and independence of India and he considered no sacrifice small for the attainment of his objective.

He was gifted with a rare organising ability and during the first World War, he and his other comrades had planned an armed revolt, of which he was the spearhead. When some of his plans were unearthed he had to escape to Japan and undergo very much suffering.

A man of great faith and courage, he lived up to the traditions of the renowned leaders and patriots of Bengal who have left behind a deep and lasting impression on our countrymen. My sincere homage to a great soul.

LAL BAHADUR

Shri Lal Bahadur Sastri, Home Minister, Indian Union.

NOTE TO OUR READERS

The Editor has been simply overwhelmed with the varieties of materials collected for the present volume as also with their emotional appeal burning with fire of patriotism. Speeches, writings and broadcasts to the nation by Rashbehari Basu may be particularly mentioned in this context.

Rashbehari Basu's life, activities and achievements,—all taken together, have a message for us and today have special significance for the present generation who are trying heart and soul to successfully face the crisis that threatens to curb our Independence by brute force. In him once revolted India in bondage, in him rose millions of our struggling countrymen to regain their rights and liberties as a free nation.

Our readers will find in this volume picturesque details of a life of unrelenting tenacity, emotional intensity and righteous indignation for all that is unjust, unfair, and oppressive. Rashbehari had burning faith in the ultimate triumph of the cause for which he dedicated his life. Although a charming personality, he was a terror to the miscreants.

Rashbehari's spirit can no doubt rouse India's manhood today, and it is time that we invoke it without any delay; the Smarak Samity has therefore undertaken the responsibility of publishing this Commemoration Volume.

The Editor has with utmost care kept strictly to the original manuscripts in English and has also seen that the translation of the articles in Japanese does not deviate from the original texts.

‘ Britain Surrenders’ (pp. 137—147) ; Beware of American Imperialism (pp. 239—256) ; Freedom : An Anglo-American Myth (pp. 147—153) are reproduced from the brochures as published by the Indian Independence League.

We should however bear in mind that facts of history do not change but attitude of a nation towards another changes through a process of history. And India today stands for international friendship and co-operation “for the peace of the world and happiness of mankind”.

In reproducing the materials, efforts have been made to arrange them subjectwise as far as practicable but unfortunately typographical mistakes* have crept in here and there for which the Editor craves the indulgence of his readers.

Although the publication had to be rushed through the press, in course of two months only, we nevertheless feel that we have not been able to bring out the volume up to our expectation but we hope that deficiencies incidental to such an undertaking will be overlooked.

The Editor is duty bound to pay his appreciative compliments to Shri Kshitish Chandra Das, the life and soul of the Samity, without whose valuable assistance the volume could not possibly be published.

In conclusion, the Editor can only say that his labour will be amply rewarded if the present volume could help historians write a true and correct history of India’s freedom struggle—which is the crying need of the time.

Sabitri Prasanna Chatterjee

Editor

* Please read (I) for (J) p. 19 ; Iwakura for Jwakura p. 53 ; Tatsuijiro for Tatsuijiro p. 59 ; Explains for Exposes p. 222 ; Asia for Africa pp. 113, 222 ; Vallabbhai for Ballabbhai p. 378 ; Broadcasts for Letters p. 378.



Shri Rash Behari Basu sailed for Japan in this make up.

A STEP FORWARD

It is with all humility that the Joint Secretaries of the Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samity avail themselves of the opportunity of relating its activities for the last five years since its formal inception in 1958 though it came into being informally on the 21st January, 1955.

The Samity thereafter continued to work with certain aims and objects, namely, (i) a statue be erected in Calcutta, (ii) the name of Canning Street in Calcutta be renamed after the late Shri Rash Behari Basu which has since been achieved, (iii) the holy ashes of the late Shri Basu be brought to Calcutta from Tokyo by the Government of India with proper military honours for enshrinement in a Mausoleum to be built for the purpose, (iv) the writings and books of the late Shri Basu be brought to India and thereafter those voluminous books be translated from the Japanese language to Indian Languages and be published at the cost of the Government of India, (v) a portion of the "Chandni Chawk", Delhi be renamed after the name of the late Shri Basu, (vi) a statue be erected at the foot of the "Katra Dhulia", Chandni Chawk, Delhi as a fitting memorial to commemorate his historic revolutionary activities of 1912, (vii) the Hardinge Avenue and Hardinge Bridge in New Delhi and the Lady Hardinge Library in Delhi be renamed after the name of the late Shri Basu, (viii) a portrait of the late Shri Basu be hung in the Central Hall of the Parliament House of India.

As preliminary to publication of the Memorial Volume the Samity tried to bring out an illustrated Souvenir on the 75th birthday of the late Shri Basu but for various reasons the idea was dropped; and a plan of publishing a Memorial Volume was taken up in right earnest.

This volume was originally intended to be published on the 78th birthday of Rash Behari Basu which fell on the

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25th May last, but the publication had to be delayed due to the fact that when we were fairly in advance in the press, fresh documentary materials began to pour in and we had to slow down. This not only delayed the publication but increased the volume considerably.

In this connection we should mention with deep sense of sorrow the death of Shri John A. Thivy, formerly a Cabinet Minister in the Azad Hind Govt., later an Ambassador of India in The Hague, who passed away within a couple of months of our receipt of his article along with his monograph dealing with the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia under the Aegis of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

We cannot but remember with deep debt of gratitude the names of late Hemendra Prasad Ghose (first President of the Samity), late Amarendra Nath Chatterjee of Uttarpara, late Bhagirath Mohta, late Surjya Kumar Basu and late K. N. Seigal, the veteran revolutionary of Northern India, who had been associated with this organisation since its inception and contributed much in different ways for its growth; last and not the least is late Shri S. K. Majumdar, ex-President of the Indian Association in Japan, a friend of late Shri Basu since his arrival in Tokyo, who helped us substantially in securing for us many valuable manuscripts, books and photos, as also tributes from eminent Japanese—all published in this volume.

We are indeed grateful to Mr. K. Kaneko, Ex-Vice-Consul of Japan in Calcutta who materially helped us in collecting the books of Rashbehari Basu from Japan and associated himself with us in our activities often when he was here in Calcutta. In matters of collecting materials from Burma—a Calcutta student Shri Sadhan Gupta is remembered with thanks. Dr. J. G. Oshwa's name should be acknowledged with thanks in matter of collections of materials in the early stages of the Samity.

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Many documentary materials received in this connection from Shri Harihor Sett and Prabartak Sangha of Chandernagore when the Samity was in its informal stage and Shri Debnath Das, Adviser to the Cabinet of Azad Hind Government are acknowledged with grateful thanks.

Our gratitude is also due to Sarvasree D. C. Sharma, M.P., Nawab Singh Chouhan, M.P., Bhakt Darshan, M.P., Indulal Yajnik, M.P., Radharaman, Ex-M.P., Dr. N. C. Samant Sinhar, Ex-M.P., Shri Chaman Lal Azad, Shri Ranbir Singh, Shri A. C. Bombwal and Master Rajaram, all veteran revolutionaries working at Delhi and Dehradun, in and outside the Lok Sabha respectively, for their active help in advancing the movement of the Smarak Samity.

The Smarak Samity will gratefully remember the names of Dr. Triguna Sen, Sarvasree D. N. Bhattacharjee, S. C. Roy, B. K. Banerjee, Jagadish Das Gupta, Nitya Narayan Banerjee, Ram Kumar Bhuwalka, D. K. Jhunjhunwalla, G. D. Thirani, S. Choudhury, H. Bhattacharya, Ashutosh Kali, Murari M. Manna, Tarapada Chakraborty, Prafulla Kr. Dutt, Ganapati Dutt, D. Dutta and Ashoke Dutt, K. N. Mukherjee, J. N. Mukherjee, S. N. Mukherjee, M. L. Das, S. Ganguli, Profulla Nath Bose, Nripati Sen Gupta, Ajit Sen, Siddheswar Mukherjee and Haridas Saha for their help and assistance from time to time.

It also values and recognises the services done by one of our youthful Asstt. Secretaries, Shri Gopen Lahiri. Material contributions of assistance made by Sree Saraswatya Press Ltd., Globe Nursery, M/s. Granthalaya (P) Ltd., Bholanath Paper House (P) Ltd., Halwasiya Trust, Kali Process and Samaj (Daily) Cuttack are also thankfully acknowledged.

The most valuable information the Smarak Samity desires to convey to the public is that it was late Dr. B. C. Roy, who by his personal efforts obtained the consent of Mrs. Tetsu

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Higuchi—daughter of late Shri Basu for bringing the holy ashes of her late father from Japan to India.

We cannot forget the interest taken by our veteran revolutionary leader Shri Bhupati Majumdar to inspire us to build up the historic organisation against enormous odds during these years. As a Minister of the Government of West Bengal when he led a delegation on behalf of the Government of India to Japan, his stirring utterances on his arrival at Tokyo were that the land of Nippon was a place of pilgrimage to him because the leader of the Indian revolutionaries, Rash Behari Basu lived, worked and died there struggling for the attainment of India's Independence—such was his feeling about that Great Soul. He met and entertained Mrs. Tetsu Higuchi, the daughter of the late Shri Basu and her relatives along with the surviving friends, colleagues, admirers and followers of her illustrious father at an "At Home" at the Indian Embassy at Tokyo.

Some of our members also conveyed our aims, objects, undertakings and achievement to Mrs. Tetsu Higuchi personally when they visited Japan. They are late Shri Surjya Kumar Basu, Shri Nitya Narayan Banerjee, Dr. N. C. Samant Sinhar and Shri Dakshina Ranjan Bose.

Our Delhi friends too accorded an address of welcome, to His Imperial Highness, the Crown Prince of Japan during His State visit to India, at the Mughal Gardens at Rashtrapati Bhavan, in presence of our late Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Prime Minister Shri Nehru. Our Jt. Secretary Shri Das as the spokesman of the party expressed India's deep sense of gratitude to His Imperial Majesty's Government of Japan for giving asylum and privilege to Rashbehari Basu to work up his programme. Thanks are due to Shri Radharaman, Ex-M.P. of Delhi for the arrangement.



Shri Rash Behari Basu.

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We owe our indebtedness to our friends and sympathisers of Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand and Japan as well as of different Indian States, cities and villages along with veteran revolutionaries of different parts of, and organisations in India, different Institutions and individuals alike for helping us materially to make our venture go ahead.

Our gratitude is also due to the veteran Gadr leaders Dr. P. S. Khankhoje and Pandit Parmanand Jhansi for their valuable supplies of data. Both of them were colleagues and compatriots of the late Shri Basu.

The liberal and sympathetic support and services rendered by the Nationalist Press of India to propagate and popularise our aims, objects, undertakings and achievements during the last eight years encouraged us to forge ahead with our activities with more conviction inspite of numerous handicaps we had to face. We extend our grateful thanks to them and solicit from them the same sympathy and support in our endeavour to present the Commemoration Volume to our countrymen.

In conclusion, the Smarak Samity appeals to the citizens of India for their active help, sympathy and patronage in advancing the National Mission the Smarak Samity has undertaken to fulfil.

Long Live Rashbehari !

Kshitish Chandra Das
Radha Raman Mitra
Joint Secretaries

INTRODUCTION

• Radhanath Rath

In connection with the last celebration of the birthday anniversary of the late Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu we are dedicating to the nation this Commemoration Volume. It consists of the life-history, speeches and writings of Sri Rash Behari Basu, and the homage paid by men of light and leading of India and other places to the great Indian patriot and revolutionary who dedicated himself to the cause of freedom of his Motherland.

When Joseph Mazzini of Italy was requested to write a history of his life to be published along with his writings, he wrote :

“When requested to preface the Edition of my political and literary writings with a history of my life, I declined the undertaking, and I still persist in my refusal. The rare joys and many sorrows of my private life are of no moment save to the few whom I love and who love me with deep individual affection. What public life I have had is all summed up and contained in my writings and how far these writings may have influenced the present events, is a question to be judged by the public, not by me.”

“Indifferent, from the inborn tendency of my mind, to that empty clamour which men call fame ; and despising from natural pride and quiet conscience, the many calumnies which have darkened my path through life ;—convinced, even unto faith, that the duty of our earthly existence is to forget self in the aim prescribed to us by our individual faculties and the necessities of the times.....”

This is what the late Biplabi Mahanayak Sri Rash Behari, who has been compared at times with Mazzini would probably have said if he were requested to give a

history of his life to be published along with his writings and speeches which we are publishing in commemoration of the memory of the great revolutionary patriot. His was a life of unparalleled devotion to the cause of freedom of India and all his activities, writings and speeches poured out his burning passion and his eloquent, inspiring ideas in clear, unambiguous and straightforward expressions which would touch the core of anybody's heart.

Sri D. V. Tahmankar, the biographer of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the "Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India" has referred to the first bomb outrage that occurred in 1908 in India in a separate Chapter of his book. It was said that in Calcutta, Mr. Kingsford, an English Magistrate was hunting down revolutionaries. Kshudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki were sent to Muzafferpore to remove him from the field. Kshudiram attacked instead the car of Mr. Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy and her daughter who were travelling with him were killed. Kshudiram was arrested and was awarded the death sentence. He was hanged on the 11th August, 1908.. Prafulla Chaki committed suicide. He was only 17 years of age then.

Lokamanya Tilak's biographer while referring to this bomb incident wrote: "the bomb which exploded at Muzafferpore at the end of April not only unnerved the Government officials, but it also threw Indian Politics into the 'melting pot'". He has then referred to the campaign that was waged against Indian political leaders—Moderates, Extremists and all—and cried for blood. The biographer further says :—

"They conveniently forgot that Mr. Kingsford had ordered the flogging of young students and insulted trusted Indian leaders like Surendranath Banerjea ; that the thousand public meetings and respectful resolutions praying for a revision of the Bengal partition had been treated with con-

tempt ; that they had called the Bengalis a race of cowards ; that they invariably condoned the killing of inoffensive and defenceless Indians and assaults on helpless Indian women by Europeans ; above all, they forgot that they had themselves written in support of political murders in Russia. *The Pioneer*, which was now preaching the doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for tooth, had in its issue of August 29th, 1906, condoned—if it did not justify—the assassination of M. Stolypin, the Russian Prime Minister, in these words :

“The horror of such crimes is too great for words, and yet it has to be acknowledged, almost, that they are the only method of fighting left to a people who are at war with despotic rulers able to command great military forces against which it is impossible for the unarmed populace to make a stand. When the Czar dissolved the Duma, he destroyed all hope of reform being gained without violence. Against bombs his armies are powerless, and for that reason he cannot rule, as his forefathers did, by the sword. It becomes impossible for even the stoutest-hearted men to govern fairly or strongly when every moment of their lives is spent in terror of a revolting death, and they grow into craven shirkers, or sustain themselves by a frenzy of retaliation which increases the conflagration they are striving to check. Such conditions cannot last”.

He says that Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose, three outstanding nationalists rallied round Tilak's banner. Lokamanya Tilak said that the fundamental cause of the bomb outrage was not the political agitation of the Extremist Party but the wholesale repressive policy of the alien bureaucracy which was trying to throttle public opinion by gagging the Indian Press and prohibiting public meetings. Tilak in his articles attacked the adversary, appreciated the youthful enthusiasm of the revolu-

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tionary party in Bengal without supporting their violence, and he pleaded with the Government to understand the changed psychology of the people. He drew obvious parallels with the situation in Russia where the Czarist tyranny had driven the people to take to nihilist movement and to the formation of secret societies. This was followed by the arrest of Lokamanya Tilak who was tried and deported. These and such other incidents arising out of a terrible repressive policy of British Government very much contributed towards the expansion of revolutionary movement in Bengal and Northern India.

It was under the emotional influence of these great events that Rash Behari Basu came out with the belief that without a well-organised revolution attainment of freedom would be utterly impossible. He did not believe in constitutional method for attaining freedom from foreign domination.

It is now a matter of history as to how a magnificent fight was put up by the Indian National Army under the command of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in South-East Asia and with Sri Rash Behari Basu, as the supreme adviser, and how the whole world was stupefied by the unique strategy of Netaji and Sri Basu that ultimately compelled the British Government to hand over power to India even though they secured a very costly victory. Netaji and Sri Basu inspired the entire Indian Nation and the Indian people by their bold exemplary leadership, their spirit of supreme sacrifice. The whole atmosphere was electrified by the slogan of *Delhi Chalo*. It was Netaji who gave us the message of *Jai Hind*. It was Sri Rash Behari who set the unique example of self-sacrifice in the cause of freedom of the country. It was most unfortunate that he breathed his last on 21st January, 1945 before the fall of Japan and the debacle of I.N.A. Though he is no more with us, his spirit

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hovers round us and his writings and speeches are now collected and presented to the Nation on behalf of the Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samity which has the fortune of having our great patriot Sri P. C. Sen, Chief Minister of West Bengal, as its President and guiding spirit.

The great Swadeshi movement which was conceived in Bengal had produced many great patriots and revolutionaries like Sri Aurobindo and a host of others who then inspired the youth of the country to sacrifice themselves at the altar of the freedom movement of India and Sri Rashbehari Basu perhaps was the greatest of them.

I particularly take pride in the fact that this great son of India was associated with another great revolutionary patriot Lala Lajpat Rai who participated as a comrade in the great revolutionary movement organised by Sri Basu after his escape to Japan in 1915, and who later on after his return from the sojourn in U.S.A. in 1920 established the Servants of the People Society of which I happen to be an humble worker.

When our country was groaning under the oppression of foreign domination, there came out like the rising sun a great revolutionary figure in Sri Rashbehari Basu who believed that without a well-organised revolution attainment of freedom would be utterly impossible. He did not believe in constitutional method for attaining freedom from foreign domination. He was greatly inspired and influenced by the revolutionary ideas that were conceived by Sri Aurobindo and found expression in his epoch-making contribution of "Bhawani Mandir". Sri Aurobindo contemplated, believed and as a prophet declared that in the present age the Mother is manifested as the mother of strength. He said, "let us raise our eyes and cast them upon the world around us. Wherever we turn our gaze, huge masses of strength rise

before our vision, tremendous, swift and inexorable forces, gigantic figures of energy, terrible sweeping columns of force. All is growing large and strong. The Shakti of war, the Shakti of wealth, the Shakti of science are tenfold more mighty and colossal, a hundredfold more fierce, rapid and busy in their activity, a thousandfold more prolific in resources, weapons and instruments than ever before in recorded history. Everywhere the Mother is at work ; from Her mighty and shaping hands enormous forms of *Rakshasas*, *Asuras*, *Devas* are leaping forth into the arena of the world. We have seen the slow but mighty rise of great empires in the West, we have seen the swift, irresistible and impetuous bounding into life of Japan. Some are Mleccha Shaktis clouded in their strength, black or blood-crimson with *tamas* or *rajas*, others are Arya Shaktis, bathed in a pure flame of renunciation and utter self-sacrifice ; but all are the Mother in her new phase, remoulding, creating. She is pouring her spirit into the old ; she is whirling into life the new.

“But in India, the breath moves slowly, the afflatus is long in coming. India, the ancient Mother, is indeed striving to be reborn, striving with agony and tears, but she strives in vain. What ails her, she who is after all so vast and might be so strong ? There is surely some enormous defect, something vital is wanting in us, nor is it difficult to lay our finger on the spot. We have all things else, but we are empty of strength, void of energy. We have abandoned Shakti and are therefore, abandoned by Shakti. The Mother is not in our hearts, in our brains, in our arms. . . .

“If India is to survive, she must be made young again. Rushing and billowing streams of energy must be poured into her, Her soul must become, as it was in the old times, like the surges, vast, puissant, calm or turbulent at will, an ocean of action or of force. Many of us, utterly overcome by *Tamas*, the dark and heavy demon of inertia, are saying

now-a-days that it is impossible, that India is decayed, bloodless and lifeless, too weak ever to recover, that our race is doomed to extinction. It is a foolish and idle saying. No man or nation need be weak unless he chooses, no man or nation need perish unless he deliberately chooses extinction". Sri Aurobindo further said, "What is a nation? What is our Mother country? It is not a piece of earth, not a figure of speech, nor a fiction of the mind. It is a mighty Shakti composed of the Shaktis of all the millions of units that make up the nation, just as Bhawani Mahisha Mardini sprang into being from the Shakti of all the millions of gods assembled in one mass of force, and welded into unity. The Shakti we call India, Bhawani Bharati, is the living unity of the Shaktis of 300 million people; but She is inactive, imprisoned in the magic circle of *tamas*, the self-indulgent inertia and ignorance of her sons".

Sri Aurobindo while so eloquently extolling the cult of strength made a reference to the example of Japan and said, "there is no instance in history of a more marvellous and sudden upsurging of strength in a nation than modern Japan", and finally carried conviction to the mind of the people of India and prophesied that, "India cannot perish, our race cannot become extinct, because among all the divisions of mankind it is to India that is reserved the highest and the most splendid destiny, the most essential to the future of human race".

These inspiring, reverberating and soul-stirring words of Sri Aurobindo, uttered and propagated during the Swadeshi Movement of 1905 generated a patriotic fervour in the young mind of Sri Rashbehari and the deep conviction and the spirited emotions that were created in him turned him to a great revolutionary, a believer in the cult of force. His thirst for freedom of his motherland became unquenched and the entire philosophy of his life was directed

towards spiritual-cum-revolutionary activities for the emancipation of the dumb millions of India and the uprooting of foreign domination from the soil of his motherland. Thus, he turned out to be a man of action and emotionally dedicated himself to the path of revolution.

He deeply believed in the theory of action and fight as enunciated in *Srimat Bhagbad-Geeta* :—

*hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṁ
jītvā vā bhokshyase mahim
tasmāduṭṭistha Kaunteya
juddhāya kṛtanischaya*

*sukhe duḥkhe same kṛtvā
lāvālāvau jayājayau
tato yuddhāya yujyasva
naivam pāpamātvāpsyasi*

“Slain, thou wilt obtain heaven ; victorious, thou wilt enjoy the earth ; therefore, stand up, O son of Kunti, resolute to fight.

“Taking as equal pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, gird thee for the battle ; thus, thou shalt not incur sin”

Mazzini, in a critical article on Carlyle's *French Revolution* said that every revolution must have a fundamental principle. Revolution is a complete rearrangement in the life of historic man. A revolutionary movement cannot be based on a flimsy and momentary grievance. It is always due to some all-moving principle for which hundreds and thousands of men fight, before which thrones totter, crowns are destroyed and created, existing ideals are shattered and new ideals break forth, and for the sake of which vast masses of people think lightly of shedding sacred human blood. The moving spirits of revolution are deemed holy or unholy in proportion as the principle underlying them is beneficial or wicked. As in private life, so also in history, the deeds of

an individual or a nation are judged by the character of the motive. •

• At this distant period of history one may ponder as to why Sri Rashbehari, the fine sentimental and partriotic yprung man, threw a bomb at Viceroy Lord Hardinge on the occasion of his State-Entry in Delhi in 1912, which would have amounted to a diabolical murder. It is the philosophy of revolution and unquenched thirst for the freedom of his country that prompted him to do so. However much one may differ from him, he should be judged by the character of his motive. As he intensely believed that it is only a bloody revolution to be brought about by patriotic fervour and selfless and fearless action on the part of the youth of the country that could ideologically metamorphose the entire nation consisting of its dumb and down-trodden millions and create conditions in which a real and fruitful revolution could be organised and made effective.

That is the spirit and belief that prompted him to throw the bomb and skilfully escape to Japan which was to him a dream-land of heroism, bravery, self-sacrifice and national pride and above all a country of warriors who worshipped the cult of self-immolation in the cause of motherland. Possessed as he was of indomitable courage, unexampled fearlessness, a burning desire for freedom and a sense of pride in service and self-sacrifice for a cause which was so dear to his heart and which was a matter of faith and conviction with him, he made a secret pilgrimage to that land of glory of unprecedented victory in the great and historic Russo-Japanese war in which the unparalleled bravery and determination of a nation of Samurais was demonstrated and thereby commanded the greatest respect and admiration of the world since it was the first victory of an Asiatic country over a Western Power.

Sri Rashbehari thought that this land of the rising sun would give him new light and new experience for organising

a revolt in the land of his birth wherefrom spread the message of glory of God and the idea of universal brotherhood (*basudhaiva kutumbakam*) and the cult of action (*Karma-yoga*) for the emancipation of mankind. He dreamed of the Nippon's military renaissance and believed that similar ideological transformation could be brought about in the mind and attitude of the people of India and a War of Victory could one day be waged to a successful end. Since that spirit of sacrifice and that hope and objective of life sustained him all through his career, he said while declaring war against the British in Japan in 1941 and handing over the leadership of Indian Independence Movement to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, "I seek nothing from life except the success of our mission. If once it is accomplished I shall retire into seclusion in some nook or corner of our beautiful Homeland. The full and complete independence of Hindustan is our object, and let no differences, personal or otherwise, colour and creed, obstruct the issue". He inspired the Indian people throughout South-East Asia by his soul-stirring words, "I was a fighter, one fight more; the last and the best".

When one looks at the background of this historic turn in the politics of India, one feels amazed as to how this land of domination and servility under the British could be aroused and inspired to an exalted mission of national emancipation under the leadership of a few ardent far-sighted and idealistic leaders of culture and patriotism under the banner of the Indian National Congress. Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 provided a very substantial cause of unrest in Bengal. Swami Vivekananda's preaching of nationalism with religious tendencies, revolutionary doctrines intermingled with appeals to excellence of Indian culture and civilisation, were widely disseminated. The ideas of reform and patriotism which originated with Raja

Ram Mohan Roy and subsequently imitated and improved upon by Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath greatly influenced the mind and conduct of the young Bengalis. Sri Aurobindo's fiery and forceful writings appealed to the heads and hearts of the young Bengalis. Aurobindo and his co-workers were mainly responsible for bringing about a dynamic and active national fervour culminating in the extremist movement in Bengal which reached its peak in 1907. By that time national movement had assumed a dynamic force in the country under the leadership of Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, whose names became legendary words as "Lal-Bal-Pal". Tilak was arrested on 13th July, 1908 and was sentenced to 6 years' transportation to which was added the half year of imprisonment that was remitted in 1897.

After the 1908 bomb outrage Tilak Maharaj raised the slogan of "militancy not mendicancy" and his fearless observations on the bomb outrage already referred to were followed by a Reign of Terror in the country and new repressive measures called the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act in 1908 and two years later the Criminal Law Amendent Act were passed.

As a result of these repressive measures sedition though apparently disappeared from the land went underground and the bomb and revolver took its place. The boycott and the Swadeshi movement made the nationalists more active and as they were then ousted from the Congress and as the repressive policy of the Government suppressed all constitutional activities, these patriots went underground. The idea gained ground that a few heroes must actively inflict suffering on themselves and by their sufferings and sacrifices bring the revolution to the door of the masses. This class of patriots maintained that in killing tyrants and oppressors they were but instruments in the hands of a

superior power, they were but carrying out the divine will. But at the same time they also realised that such sporadic acts of violence could not bring about a revolution unless the masses were awakened to their sense of duty and the movement of freedom was made a mass programme. That was why many Samitis and organisations such as Anusilan Samiti, Yugantar Group of Calcutta, etc. were started under the leadership of individuals who commanded unflinching loyalty and devotion from their co-workers. Sri Rashbehari was one of such leaders. The result was that during the period of 1907 to 1914 many events took place in which a large number of bright youngmen of Bengal were sacrificed and subjected to untold sufferings in connection with Conspiracy Cases that were started.

You might be aware of the fact that when Sri Rashbehari escaped to Japan he was followed by an unknown young man of the Punjab—Sri Sabharwal, who was then acting as Secretary to Lala Lajpat Rai. The young man also escaped to Japan and stayed there to work under the command of the great leader Rashbehari. I met this gentleman at New Delhi after the conclusion of the Second World War when he returned to India and told many anecdotes about Sri Rashbehari. The mysterious disappearance of this great revolutionary by s. s. Sanukimaru eluding the notice of the British spies and informers was an event of great courage and significance. Rashbehari went out under the guise of Raja P. N. Tagore and immediately on his arrival at Tokyo and later on at Shanghai contacted the Germans who were then at war with the British for supply of arms and ammunitions to India through Chinese agencies. It is said that the "Emden" incident was a part of this plan. The plan of course failed, but undaunted by courage and conviction and sustained by hope and inspiration, he incessantly worked from inside Japan for the freedom of India. By his asso-

ciation with the great Japanese patriot and leader of militarism—Mr. Mitsui Toyama and on account of the protection and assistance given by him, he could survive for long 8 years by remaining underground to elude the pressure of the British Embassy for his apprehension and re-exile. Sri Rashbehari felt that unless all the South-East Asian countries combined and collaborated for liberty and freedom and a New Asia of Asians was created, the singlehanded effort of the Indian revolutionaries could not succeed and make the country free. Fortunately, at that time, as has been pointed out by his biographer, Dr. Sun-Yat Sen of China took refuge in Japan and took shelter in Toyama's. Rashbehari and Dr. Sun-Yat Sen discussed the problems of India and China and also of South-East Asian countries and both held the same views of the situation as Rashbehari appraised. It is said that Toyama, Rashbehari and Dr. Sun-Yat Sen sat together and outlined their plan of activities.

Sri Rashbehari's foresight about the necessity of collaboration of Asian countries like India, China and Japan for making Asia a free land was unique indeed. One would wish that the present-day leaders of these countries could as well so feel and work together in order that Asia may give new light to the world and ensure peace and happiness to mankind through harmonious relationship.

I should refer here to the historic event of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's escape from India during the Second World War and the magnificent role he played in the South-East Asian War Theatre as Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army and worthy successor of Sri Rashbehari Basu in the Indian Independence League. It was through the diplomatic and strategic manoeuvres of Sri Rashbehari that Netaji could be contacted while under detention in India and could mysteriously be moved out of Berlin and from there to distant place of Tokyo in Japan to meet

the great leader of Indian Independence Movement and to assist him in the freedom's battle. •

About the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army, Mr. Shahanawaz Khan, then a Major General and an assistant to Netaji and now Minister of free India has made a brief reference in his book "Memories of I.N.A. and its Netaji" to the role played by Sri Rashbehari Basu in the following words :—

"Soon after the commencement of hostilities in the Far East, Sri Rashbehari Basu, an Indian revolutionary, who had been living as an exile in Japan, for several years under the patronage of Mr. Toyama, a well known Japanese patriot, called on Field Marshal Sugiyama, Chief of the Imperial General Staff of Japanese Army, and explained to him that the present was a good opportunity for Indians to secure their independence from British rule. He requested Field Marshal Sugiyama to help Indians in East Asia to organize themselves and launch an armed offensive against the British from the East. He also requested the General Staff to issue orders to Japanese forces not to treat Indians as enemy subjects in the countries, occupied by the Japanese armies. Sugiyama could not agree with Mr. R. B. Basu's proposal, as he contended that India was a part of the British Empire which was at war with Japan and as such, all Indians were to be treated as enemy subjects.

"Mr. Basu then met the Deputy War Minister and managed to persuade him to agree to his suggestion. Consequently, an Indian Independence League, with the object of organizing Indians in the Far East, was formed in Japan with Mr. Rash Behari Basu as its President.

• "After the occupation of Thailand (Siam) by the Japanese forces, Swami Satyananda Puri, with certain other leading Indians, set up an Indian Independence League in Bangkok. Representatives of this League went with the

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Japanese forces as they advanced into Malaya and with the help and under the leadership of local Indians set up I.I.L. branches in all the states of Malaya. Later, the I.I.L. branches were formed all over East Asia including Philippines, Thailand, Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, Shanghai, Burma, Korea and Manchuria. All these League branches owed allegiance to India and were under the leadership of Mr. R. B. Basu.

“The formation of these branch organizations was a very wise move on the part of Mr. R. B. Basu”.

Sometime after his arrival at Japan, he got Lala Lajpat Rai and Herambalal Gupta by his side and prepared an elaborate plan of action. But soon after Lalajee left for America, Rashbehari and Herambalal Gupta had to go underground, as an Extradition Warrant was issued by British Embassy. He later on secured the Japanese citizenship in 1923 and established the Pan-Asian League in 1926 and went to Korea in furtherance of the programme of this League. The Indian Independence League was started in 1924. After the Second World War was started and Japan joined the Axis forces Sri Rashbehari took advantage of this situation and organised the first conference at Tokyo in March, 1942 in which the programme of operation was chalked out for Indian National Army and the 2nd Conference was held in Bangkok in June, 1942 and over which he presided and which was addressed by the Prime Minister of Thailand. In his presidential address Sri Rashbehari paid high tributes to the memory of four valuable comrades—Swami Satyanand Puri and others who lost their lives in an air crash while flying to Tokyo to attend the Indian Independence Conference.

At the Bangkok Conference which was attended by representative Indians of the whole of South East Asia the following resolution regarding the principle and objective of

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the Indian Independence movement and the future of India was passed under his leadership :

“(6) Resolved that the Indian Independence Movement sponsored by the Conference shall be guided by the principles indicated below :—

- (a) That Unity, Faith and Sacrifice shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movement.
- (b) That India be considered as one and indivisible.
- (c) That all activities of this Movement be on a national basis and not on sectional, communal or religious basis.
- (d) That in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress is the only political organisation which can claim to represent the real interests of the people of India, and as such be acknowledged the only body representing India, this Conference is of the opinion that the programme and plan of action of this movement must be so guided, controlled and directed as to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress, which was led by Mahatma Gandhi.
- (e) That the framing of the future Constitution of India be done only by the representatives of the people of India”.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who mysteriously disappeared from his home at Calcutta in January, 1941, disguised as a Pathan and reached Berlin via Peshawar, Kabul and Russia, was announced to have reached Tokyo in a German Submarine on the 18th June, 1943, and on the 4th July, 1943 he assumed formally the leadership of the freedom movement and became the President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. In the Conference where Netaji took over the leadership, President, Sri Rashbehari Basu in his concluding remark said—“Friends and Comrades in

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Arms ! You might now ask me, what I did in Tokyo for our cause, what present I have brought for you. Well, I have brought for you this present (turning to Subhas) Sriji Subhas Chandra Bose who needs no introduction to you... "

"Friends and Comrades in Arms ! In your presence to-day I resign my office and appoint Deshsevak Subhas Chandra Bose, as President of the Indian Independence League.....I am old. This is the work of a younger man. India's best is represented in him." Deeply and visibly moved he said :—

"You know I have dedicated my life, in my own humble way, to the cause of our sacred Motherland. That is my life's mission. And as long as there is breath in my body, I shall be the soldier that I have always been—the soldier in the battle for Mother India's freedom. And, of course, I shall not spare myself in giving him all that I can give him—whole-hearted co-operation, assistance and advice in the battle that is now ahead of us".

"Friends and Comrades in Arms ! The greatest moment in our lives has come. We are on the eve of the most decisive phase of our campaign : happy and auspicious way in which events are taking shape. So, my friends ! have faith in God, have faith in yourselves, have faith in our friends and allies, have faith in their victory which is India's victory as well, and be ready to plunge yourself into the battle—the battle that will lead our sacred Motherland to freedom, victory and glory."

In presenting this Commemoration Volume to the Nation as a token of our love and respect for Rash Behari, we hope and believe that the present-day youth of our country by going through it may feel inspired and dedicate themselves to the service of the Motherland with an idealism that is India's own and based on moral and spiritual values which are fast disappearing. It is the integrity, character and spiri-

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tual dedication of a Nation that can sustain its independence. May Rash Behari's life and writings and the story of his struggle for India's independence give us the faith and strength towards the fulfilment of our country's greater objective of peace and happiness of our countrymen and of mankind. *Jai Hind.*

Radhanath Rath,

Working President,

Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samity,

Editor-in-Chief.

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ମଞ୍ଜରୀ ଓମକାର ଟ
Truth is God.

Rash Behari Basu

ଶ୍ରୀରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର
25/4/42

INTRODUCTION

• Radhanath Rath

In connection with the last celebration of the birthday anniversary of the late Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu we are dedicating to the nation this Commemoration Volume. It consists of the life-history, speeches and writings of Sri Rash Behari Basu, and the homage paid by men of light and leading of India and other places to the great Indian patriot and revolutionary who dedicated himself to the cause of freedom of his Motherland.

When Joseph Mazzini of Italy was requested to write a history of his life to be published along with his writings, he wrote :

“When requested to preface the Edition of my political and literary writings with a history of my life, I declined the undertaking, and I still persist in my refusal. The rare joys and many sorrows of my private life are of no moment save to the few whom I love and who love me with deep individual affection. What public life I have had is all summed up and contained in my writings and how far these writings may have influenced the present events, is a question to be judged by the public, not by me.”

“Indifferent, from the inborn tendency of my mind, to that empty clamour which men call fame ; and despising from natural pride and quiet conscience, the many calumnies which have darkened my path through life ;—convinced, even unto faith, that the duty of our earthly existence is to forget self in the aim prescribed to us by our individual faculties and the necessities of the times.....”

This is what the late Biplabi Mahanayak Sri Rash Behari, who has been compared at times with Mazzini would probably have said if he were requested to give a

history of his life to be published along with his writings and speeches which we are publishing in commemoration of the memory of the great revolutionary patriot. His was a life of unparalleled devotion to the cause of freedom of India and all his activities, writings and speeches poured out his burning passion and his eloquent, inspiring ideas in clear, unambiguous and straightforward expressions which would touch the core of anybody's heart.

Sri D. V. Tahmankar, the biographer of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the "Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India" has referred to the first bomb outrage that occurred in 1908 in India in a separate Chapter of his book. It was said that in Calcutta, Mr. Kingsford, an English Magistrate was hunting down revolutionaries. Kshudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki were sent to Muzafferpore to remove him from the field. Kshudiram attacked instead the car of Mr. Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy and her daughter who were travelling with him were killed. Kshudiram was arrested and was awarded the death sentence. He was hanged on the 11th August, 1908.. Prafulla Chaki committed suicide. He was only 17 years of age then.

Lokamanya Tilak's biographer while referring to this bomb incident wrote: "the bomb which exploded at Muzafferpore at the end of April not only unnerved the Government officials, but it also threw Indian Politics into the 'melting pot'". He has then referred to the campaign that was waged against Indian political leaders—Moderates, Extremists and all—and cried for blood. The biographer further says :—

"They conveniently forgot that Mr. Kingsford had ordered the flogging of young students and insulted trusted Indian leaders like Surendranath Banerjea ; that the thousand public meetings and respectful resolutions praying for a revision of the Bengal partition had been treated with con-

tempt ; that they had called the Bengalis a race of cowards ; that they invariably condoned the killing of inoffensive and defenceless Indians and assaults on helpless Indian women by Europeans ; above all, they forgot that they had themselves written in support of political murders in Russia. *The Pioneer*, which was now preaching the doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for tooth, had in its issue of August 29th, 1906, condoned—if it did not justify—the assassination of M. Stolypin, the Russian Prime Minister, in these words :

“The horror of such crimes is too great for words, and yet it has to be acknowledged, almost, that they are the only method of fighting left to a people who are at war with despotic rulers able to command great military forces against which it is impossible for the unarmed populace to make a stand. When the Czar dissolved the Duma, he destroyed all hope of reform being gained without violence. Against bombs his armies are powerless, and for that reason he cannot rule, as his forefathers did, by the sword. It becomes impossible for even the stoutest-hearted men to govern fairly or strongly when every moment of their lives is spent in terror of a revolting death, and they grow into craven shirkers, or sustain themselves by a frenzy of retaliation which increases the conflagration they are striving to check. Such conditions cannot last”.

He says that Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose, three outstanding nationalists rallied round Tilak's banner. Lokamanya Tilak said that the fundamental cause of the bomb outrage was not the political agitation of the Extremist Party but the wholesale repressive policy of the alien bureaucracy which was trying to throttle public opinion by gagging the Indian Press and prohibiting public meetings. Tilak in his articles attacked the adversary, appreciated the youthful enthusiasm of the revolu-

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tionary party in Bengal without supporting their violence, and he pleaded with the Government to understand the changed psychology of the people. He drew obvious parallels with the situation in Russia where the Czarist tyranny had driven the people to take to nihilist movement and to the formation of secret societies. This was followed by the arrest of Lokamanya Tilak who was tried and deported. These and such other incidents arising out of a terrible repressive policy of British Government very much contributed towards the expansion of revolutionary movement in Bengal and Northern India.

It was under the emotional influence of these great events that Rash Behari Basu came out with the belief that without a well-organised revolution attainment of freedom would be utterly impossible. He did not believe in constitutional method for attaining freedom from foreign domination.

It is now a matter of history as to how a magnificent fight was put up by the Indian National Army under the command of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in South-East Asia and with Sri Rash Behari Basu, as the supreme adviser, and how the whole world was stupefied by the unique strategy of Netaji and Sri Basu that ultimately compelled the British Government to hand over power to India even though they secured a very costly victory. Netaji and Sri Basu inspired the entire Indian Nation and the Indian people by their bold exemplary leadership, their spirit of supreme sacrifice. The whole atmosphere was electrified by the slogan of *Delhi Chalo*. It was Netaji who gave us the message of *Jai Hind*. It was Sri Rash Behari who set the unique example of self-sacrifice in the cause of freedom of the country. It was most unfortunate that he breathed his last on 21st January, 1945 before the fall of Japan and the debacle of I.N.A. Though he is no more with us, his spirit

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hovers round us and his writings and speeches are now collected and presented to the Nation on behalf of the Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samity which has the fortune of having our great patriot Sri P. C. Sen, Chief Minister of West Bengal, as its President and guiding spirit.

The great Swadeshi movement which was conceived in Bengal had produced many great patriots and revolutionaries like Sri Aurobindo and a host of others who then inspired the youth of the country to sacrifice themselves at the altar of the freedom movement of India and Sri Rashbehari Basu perhaps was the greatest of them.

I particularly take pride in the fact that this great son of India was associated with another great revolutionary patriot Lala Lajpat Rai who participated as a comrade in the great revolutionary movement organised by Sri Basu after his escape to Japan in 1915, and who later on after his return from the sojourn in U.S.A. in 1920 established the Servants of the People Society of which I happen to be an humble worker.

When our country was groaning under the oppression of foreign domination, there came out like the rising sun a great revolutionary figure in Sri Rashbehari Basu who believed that without a well-organised revolution attainment of freedom would be utterly impossible. He did not believe in constitutional method for attaining freedom from foreign domination. He was greatly inspired and influenced by the revolutionary ideas that were conceived by Sri Aurobindo and found expression in his epoch-making contribution of "Bhawani Mandir". Sri Aurobindo contemplated, believed and as a prophet declared that in the present age the Mother is manifested as the mother of strength. He said, "let us raise our eyes and cast them upon the world around us. Wherever we turn our gaze, huge masses of strength rise

before our vision, tremendous, swift and inexorable forces, gigantic figures of energy, terrible sweeping columns of force. All is growing large and strong. The Shakti of war, the Shakti of wealth, the Shakti of science are tenfold more mighty and colossal, a hundredfold more fierce, rapid and busy in their activity, a thousandfold more prolific in resources, weapons and instruments than ever before in recorded history. Everywhere the Mother is at work ; from Her mighty and shaping hands enormous forms of *Rakshasas*, *Asuras*, *Devas* are leaping forth into the arena of the world. We have seen the slow but mighty rise of great empires in the West, we have seen the swift, irresistible and impetuous bounding into life of Japan. Some are Mleccha Shaktis clouded in their strength, black or blood-crimson with *tamas* or *rajas*, others are Arya Shaktis, bathed in a pure flame of renunciation and utter self-sacrifice ; but all are the Mother in her new phase, remoulding, creating. She is pouring her spirit into the old ; she is whirling into life the new.

“But in India, the breath moves slowly, the afflatus is long in coming. India, the ancient Mother, is indeed striving to be reborn, striving with agony and tears, but she strives in vain. What ails her, she who is after all so vast and might be so strong ? There is surely some enormous defect, something vital is wanting in us, nor is it difficult to lay our finger on the spot. We have all things else, but we are empty of strength, void of energy. We have abandoned Shakti and are therefore, abandoned by Shakti. The Mother is not in our hearts, in our brains, in our arms. . . .

“If India is to survive, she must be made young again. Rushing and billowing streams of energy must be poured into her, Her soul must become, as it was in the old times, like the surges, vast, puissant, calm or turbulent at will, an ocean of action or of force. Many of us, utterly overcome by *Tamas*, the dark and heavy demon of inertia, are saying

now-a-days that it is impossible, that India is decayed, bloodless and lifeless, too weak ever to recover, that our race is doomed to extinction. It is a foolish and idle saying. No man or nation need be weak unless he chooses, no man or nation need perish unless he deliberately chooses extinction". Sri Aurobindo further said, "What is a nation? What is our Mother country? It is not a piece of earth, not a figure of speech, nor a fiction of the mind. It is a mighty Shakti composed of the Shaktis of all the millions of units that make up the nation, just as Bhawani Mahisha Mardini sprang into being from the Shakti of all the millions of gods assembled in one mass of force, and welded into unity. The Shakti we call India, Bhawani Bharati, is the living unity of the Shaktis of 300 million people; but She is inactive, imprisoned in the magic circle of *tamas*, the self-indulgent inertia and ignorance of her sons".

Sri Aurobindo while so eloquently extolling the cult of strength made a reference to the example of Japan and said, "there is no instance in history of a more marvellous and sudden upsurging of strength in a nation than modern Japan", and finally carried conviction to the mind of the people of India and prophesied that, "India cannot perish, our race cannot become extinct, because among all the divisions of mankind it is to India that is reserved the highest and the most splendid destiny, the most essential to the future of human race".

These inspiring, reverberating and soul-stirring words of Sri Aurobindo, uttered and propagated during the Swadeshi Movement of 1905 generated a patriotic fervour in the young mind of Sri Rashbehari and the deep conviction and the spirited emotions that were created in him turned him to a great revolutionary, a believer in the cult of force. His thirst for freedom of his motherland became unquenched and the entire philosophy of his life was directed

towards spiritual-cum-revolutionary activities for the emancipation of the dumb millions of India and the uprooting of foreign domination from the soil of his motherland. Thus, he turned out to be a man of action and emotionally dedicated himself to the path of revolution.

He deeply believed in the theory of action and fight as enunciated in *Srimat Bhagbad-Geeta* :—

*hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṁ
jītvā vā bhokshyase mahim
tasmāduṭṭistha Kaunteya
juddhāya kṛtanischaya*

*sukhe duḥkhe same kṛtvā
lāvālāvau jayājayau
tato yuddhāya yujyasva
naivam pāpamātvāpsyasi*

“Slain, thou wilt obtain heaven ; victorious, thou wilt enjoy the earth ; therefore, stand up, O son of Kunti, resolute to fight.

“Taking as equal pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, gird thee for the battle ; thus, thou shalt not incur sin”

Mazzini, in a critical article on Carlyle's *French Revolution* said that every revolution must have a fundamental principle. Revolution is a complete rearrangement in the life of historic man. A revolutionary movement cannot be based on a flimsy and momentary grievance. It is always due to some all-moving principle for which hundreds and thousands of men fight, before which thrones totter, crowns are destroyed and created, existing ideals are shattered and new ideals break forth, and for the sake of which vast masses of people think lightly of shedding sacred human blood. The moving spirits of revolution are deemed holy or unholy in proportion as the principle underlying them is beneficial or wicked. As in private life, so also in history, the deeds of

an individual or a nation are judged by the character of the motive. •

• At this distant period of history one may ponder as to why Sri Rashbehari, the fine sentimental and partriotic yprung man, threw a bomb at Viceroy Lord Hardinge on the occasion of his State-Entry in Delhi in 1912, which would have amounted to a diabolical murder. It is the philosophy of revolution and unquenched thirst for the freedom of his country that prompted him to do so. However much one may differ from him, he should be judged by the character of his motive. As he intensely believed that it is only a bloody revolution to be brought about by patriotic fervour and selfless and fearless action on the part of the youth of the country that could ideologically metamorphose the entire nation consisting of its dumb and down-trodden millions and create conditions in which a real and fruitful revolution could be organised and made effective.

That is the spirit and belief that prompted him to throw the bomb and skilfully escape to Japan which was to him a dream-land of heroism, bravery, self-sacrifice and national pride and above all a country of warriors who worshipped the cult of self-immolation in the cause of motherland. Possessed as he was of indomitable courage, unexampled fearlessness, a burning desire for freedom and a sense of pride in service and self-sacrifice for a cause which was so dear to his heart and which was a matter of faith and conviction with him, he made a secret pilgrimage to that land of glory of unprecedented victory in the great and historic Russo-Japanese war in which the unparalleled bravery and determination of a nation of Samurais was demonstrated and thereby commanded the greatest respect and admiration of the world since it was the first victory of an Asiatic country over a Western Power.

Sri Rashbehari thought that this land of the rising sun would give him new light and new experience for organising

a revolt in the land of his birth wherefrom spread the message of glory of God and the idea of universal brotherhood (*basudhaiva kutumbakam*) and the cult of action (*Karma-yoga*) for the emancipation of mankind. He dreamed of the Nippon's military renaissance and believed that similar ideological transformation could be brought about in the mind and attitude of the people of India and a War of Victory could one day be waged to a successful end. Since that spirit of sacrifice and that hope and objective of life sustained him all through his career, he said while declaring war against the British in Japan in 1941 and handing over the leadership of Indian Independence Movement to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, "I seek nothing from life except the success of our mission. If once it is accomplished I shall retire into seclusion in some nook or corner of our beautiful Homeland. The full and complete independence of Hindustan is our object, and let no differences, personal or otherwise, colour and creed, obstruct the issue". He inspired the Indian people throughout South-East Asia by his soul-stirring words, "I was a fighter, one fight more; the last and the best".

When one looks at the background of this historic turn in the politics of India, one feels amazed as to how this land of domination and servility under the British could be aroused and inspired to an exalted mission of national emancipation under the leadership of a few ardent far-sighted and idealistic leaders of culture and patriotism under the banner of the Indian National Congress. Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 provided a very substantial cause of unrest in Bengal. Swami Vivekananda's preaching of nationalism with religious tendencies, revolutionary doctrines intermingled with appeals to excellence of Indian culture and civilisation, were widely disseminated. The ideas of reform and patriotism which originated with Raja

Ram Mohan Roy and subsequently imitated and improved upon by Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath greatly influenced the mind and conduct of the young Bengalis. Sri Aurobindo's fiery and forceful writings appealed to the heads and hearts of the young Bengalis. Aurobindo and his co-workers were mainly responsible for bringing about a dynamic and active national fervour culminating in the extremist movement in Bengal which reached its peak in 1907. By that time national movement had assumed a dynamic force in the country under the leadership of Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, whose names became legendary words as "Lal-Bal-Pal". Tilak was arrested on 13th July, 1908 and was sentenced to 6 years' transportation to which was added the half year of imprisonment that was remitted in 1897.

After the 1908 bomb outrage Tilak Maharaj raised the slogan of "militancy not mendicancy" and his fearless observations on the bomb outrage already referred to were followed by a Reign of Terror in the country and new repressive measures called the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act in 1908 and two years later the Criminal Law Amendent Act were passed.

As a result of these repressive measures sedition though apparently disappeared from the land went underground and the bomb and revolver took its place. The boycott and the Swadeshi movement made the nationalists more active and as they were then ousted from the Congress and as the repressive policy of the Government suppressed all constitutional activities, these patriots went underground. The idea gained ground that a few heroes must actively inflict suffering on themselves and by their sufferings and sacrifices bring the revolution to the door of the masses. This class of patriots maintained that in killing tyrants and oppressors they were but instruments in the hands of a

superior power, they were but carrying out the divine will. But at the same time they also realised that such sporadic acts of violence could not bring about a revolution unless the masses were awakened to their sense of duty and the movement of freedom was made a mass programme. That was why many Samitis and organisations such as Anusilan Samiti, Yugantar Group of Calcutta, etc. were started under the leadership of individuals who commanded unflinching loyalty and devotion from their co-workers. Sri Rashbehari was one of such leaders. The result was that during the period of 1907 to 1914 many events took place in which a large number of bright youngmen of Bengal were sacrificed and subjected to untold sufferings in connection with Conspiracy Cases that were started.

You might be aware of the fact that when Sri Rashbehari escaped to Japan he was followed by an unknown young man of the Punjab—Sri Sabharwal, who was then acting as Secretary to Lala Lajpat Rai. The young man also escaped to Japan and stayed there to work under the command of the great leader Rashbehari. I met this gentleman at New Delhi after the conclusion of the Second World War when he returned to India and told many anecdotes about Sri Rashbehari. The mysterious disappearance of this great revolutionary by s. s. Sanukimaru eluding the notice of the British spies and informers was an event of great courage and significance. Rashbehari went out under the guise of Raja P. N. Tagore and immediately on his arrival at Tokyo and later on at Shanghai contacted the Germans who were then at war with the British for supply of arms and ammunitions to India through Chinese agencies. It is said that the "Emden" incident was a part of this plan. The plan of course failed, but undaunted by courage and conviction and sustained by hope and inspiration, he incessantly worked from inside Japan for the freedom of India. By his asso-

ciation with the great Japanese patriot and leader of militarism—Mr. Mitsui Toyama and on account of the protection and assistance given by him, he could survive for long 8 years by remaining underground to elude the pressure of the British Embassy for his apprehension and re-exile. Sri Rashbehari felt that unless all the South-East Asian countries combined and collaborated for liberty and freedom and a New Asia of Asians was created, the singlehanded effort of the Indian revolutionaries could not succeed and make the country free. Fortunately, at that time, as has been pointed out by his biographer, Dr. Sun-Yat Sen of China took refuge in Japan and took shelter in Toyama's. Rashbehari and Dr. Sun-Yat Sen discussed the problems of India and China and also of South-East Asian countries and both held the same views of the situation as Rashbehari appraised. It is said that Toyama, Rashbehari and Dr. Sun-Yat Sen sat together and outlined their plan of activities.

Sri Rashbehari's foresight about the necessity of collaboration of Asian countries like India, China and Japan for making Asia a free land was unique indeed. One would wish that the present-day leaders of these countries could as well so feel and work together in order that Asia may give new light to the world and ensure peace and happiness to mankind through harmonious relationship.

I should refer here to the historic event of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's escape from India during the Second World War and the magnificent role he played in the South-East Asian War Theatre as Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army and worthy successor of Sri Rashbehari Basu in the Indian Independence League. It was through the diplomatic and strategic manoeuvres of Sri Rashbehari that Netaji could be contacted while under detention in India and could mysteriously be moved out of Berlin and from there to distant place of Tokyo in Japan to meet

the great leader of Indian Independence Movement and to assist him in the freedom's battle. •

About the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army, Mr. Shahanawaz Khan, then a Major General and an assistant to Netaji and now Minister of free India has made a brief reference in his book "Memories of I.N.A. and its Netaji" to the role played by Sri Rashbehari Basu in the following words :—

"Soon after the commencement of hostilities in the Far East, Sri Rashbehari Basu, an Indian revolutionary, who had been living as an exile in Japan, for several years under the patronage of Mr. Toyama, a well known Japanese patriot, called on Field Marshal Sugiyama, Chief of the Imperial General Staff of Japanese Army, and explained to him that the present was a good opportunity for Indians to secure their independence from British rule. He requested Field Marshal Sugiyama to help Indians in East Asia to organize themselves and launch an armed offensive against the British from the East. He also requested the General Staff to issue orders to Japanese forces not to treat Indians as enemy subjects in the countries, occupied by the Japanese armies. Sugiyama could not agree with Mr. R. B. Basu's proposal, as he contended that India was a part of the British Empire which was at war with Japan and as such, all Indians were to be treated as enemy subjects.

"Mr. Basu then met the Deputy War Minister and managed to persuade him to agree to his suggestion. Consequently, an Indian Independence League, with the object of organizing Indians in the Far East, was formed in Japan with Mr. Rash Behari Basu as its President.

• "After the occupation of Thailand (Siam) by the Japanese forces, Swami Satyananda Puri, with certain other leading Indians, set up an Indian Independence League in Bangkok. Representatives of this League went with the

Japanese forces as they advanced into Malaya and with the help and under the leadership of local Indians set up I.I.L. branches in all the states of Malaya. Later, the I.I.L. branches were formed all over East Asia including Philippines, Thailand, Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, Shanghai, Burma, Korea and Manchuria. All these League branches owed allegiance to India and were under the leadership of Mr. R. B. Basu.

“The formation of these branch organizations was a very wise move on the part of Mr. R. B. Basu”.

Sometime after his arrival at Japan, he got Lala Lajpat Rai and Herambalal Gupta by his side and prepared an elaborate plan of action. But soon after Lalajee left for America, Rashbehari and Herambalal Gupta had to go underground, as an Extradition Warrant was issued by British Embassy. He later on secured the Japanese citizenship in 1923 and established the Pan-Asian League in 1926 and went to Korea in furtherance of the programme of this League. The Indian Independence League was started in 1924. After the Second World War was started and Japan joined the Axis forces Sri Rashbehari took advantage of this situation and organised the first conference at Tokyo in March, 1942 in which the programme of operation was chalked out for Indian National Army and the 2nd Conference was held in Bangkok in June, 1942 and over which he presided and which was addressed by the Prime Minister of Thailand. In his presidential address Sri Rashbehari paid high tributes to the memory of four valuable comrades—Swami Satyanand Puri and others who lost their lives in an air crash while flying to Tokyo to attend the Indian Independence Conference.

At the Bangkok Conference which was attended by representative Indians of the whole of South East Asia the following resolution regarding the principle and objective of

RASH BEHARI BASU

the Indian Independence movement and the future of India was passed under his leadership :

“(6) Resolved that the Indian Independence Movement sponsored by the Conference shall be guided by the principles indicated below :—

- (a) That Unity, Faith and Sacrifice shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movement.
- (b) That India be considered as one and indivisible.
- (c) That all activities of this Movement be on a national basis and not on sectional, communal or religious basis.
- (d) That in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress is the only political organisation which can claim to represent the real interests of the people of India, and as such be acknowledged the only body representing India, this Conference is of the opinion that the programme and plan of action of this movement must be so guided, controlled and directed as to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress, which was led by Mahatma Gandhi.
- (e) That the framing of the future Constitution of India be done only by the representatives of the people of India”.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who mysteriously disappeared from his home at Calcutta in January, 1941, disguised as a Pathan and reached Berlin via Peshawar, Kabul and Russia, was announced to have reached Tokyo in a German Submarine on the 18th June, 1943, and on the 4th July, 1943 he assumed formally the leadership of the freedom movement and became the President of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. In the Conference where Netaji took over the leadership, President, Sri Rashbehari Basu in his concluding remark said—“Friends and Comrades in

RASH BEHARI BASU

Arms ! You might now ask me, what I did in Tokyo for our cause, what present I have brought for you. Well, I have brought for you this present (turning to Subhas) Sriji Subhas Chandra Bose who needs no introduction to you... "

"Friends and Comrades in Arms ! In your presence to-day I resign my office and appoint Deshsevak Subhas Chandra Bose, as President of the Indian Independence League.....I am old. This is the work of a younger man. India's best is represented in him." Deeply and visibly moved he said :—

"You know I have dedicated my life, in my own humble way, to the cause of our sacred Motherland. That is my life's mission. And as long as there is breath in my body, I shall be the soldier that I have always been—the soldier in the battle for Mother India's freedom. And, of course, I shall not spare myself in giving him all that I can give him—whole-hearted co-operation, assistance and advice in the battle that is now ahead of us".

"Friends and Comrades in Arms ! The greatest moment in our lives has come. We are on the eve of the most decisive phase of our campaign : happy and auspicious way in which events are taking shape. So, my friends ! have faith in God, have faith in yourselves, have faith in our friends and allies, have faith in their victory which is India's victory as well, and be ready to plunge yourself into the battle—the battle that will lead our sacred Motherland to freedom, victory and glory."

In presenting this Commemoration Volume to the Nation as a token of our love and respect for Rash Behari, we hope and believe that the present-day youth of our country by going through it may feel inspired and dedicate themselves to the service of the Motherland with an idealism that is India's own and based on moral and spiritual values which are fast disappearing. It is the integrity, character and spiri-

RASH BEHARI BASU

tual dedication of a Nation that can sustain its independence. May Rash Behari's life and writings and the story of his struggle for India's independence give us the faith and strength towards the fulfilment of our country's greater objective of peace and happiness of our countrymen and of mankind. *Jai Hind.*

Radhanath Rath,

Working President,

Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samity,

Editor-in-Chief.

ॐ

ਸਤ੍‍ਗੁਰੁ ਭਗਵਾਨ ।
Truth is God.

Rash Behari Bose

ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਰਾਮਚੰਦਰ ਰਾਏ
25/4/42

MESSAGES AND TRIBUTES

Minister of Education,
New Delhi.

Dear Sir (20/11/46).

I am glad that the ashes of the late
Rashbehari Bose are being brought to India from
Japan by his daughter. Rashbehari Bose was one
of those well-known patriots whose love for the
Motherland and his burning desire to see her
free could never be quelled. As the last symbol
of his ardent feelings, we welcome his ashes
back to the country of his birth. I am sure they
will be a source of inspiration to all and sundry.

[Handwritten signature]

Malayan Indian Congress
Head Quarters
252-B, BRICKFIELDS ROAD,
KUALA LUMPUR, P.T.M.
12th May,

Sri Kshitish Ch. Das,
Joint Secretary,
Rashbehari Basu Smarak Samity,
7, Lower Chitpur Road,
(2nd Floor) Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

Re : Observance of the 75th Birthday Anniversary
of the late Sri Rashbehari Basu on 25-5-

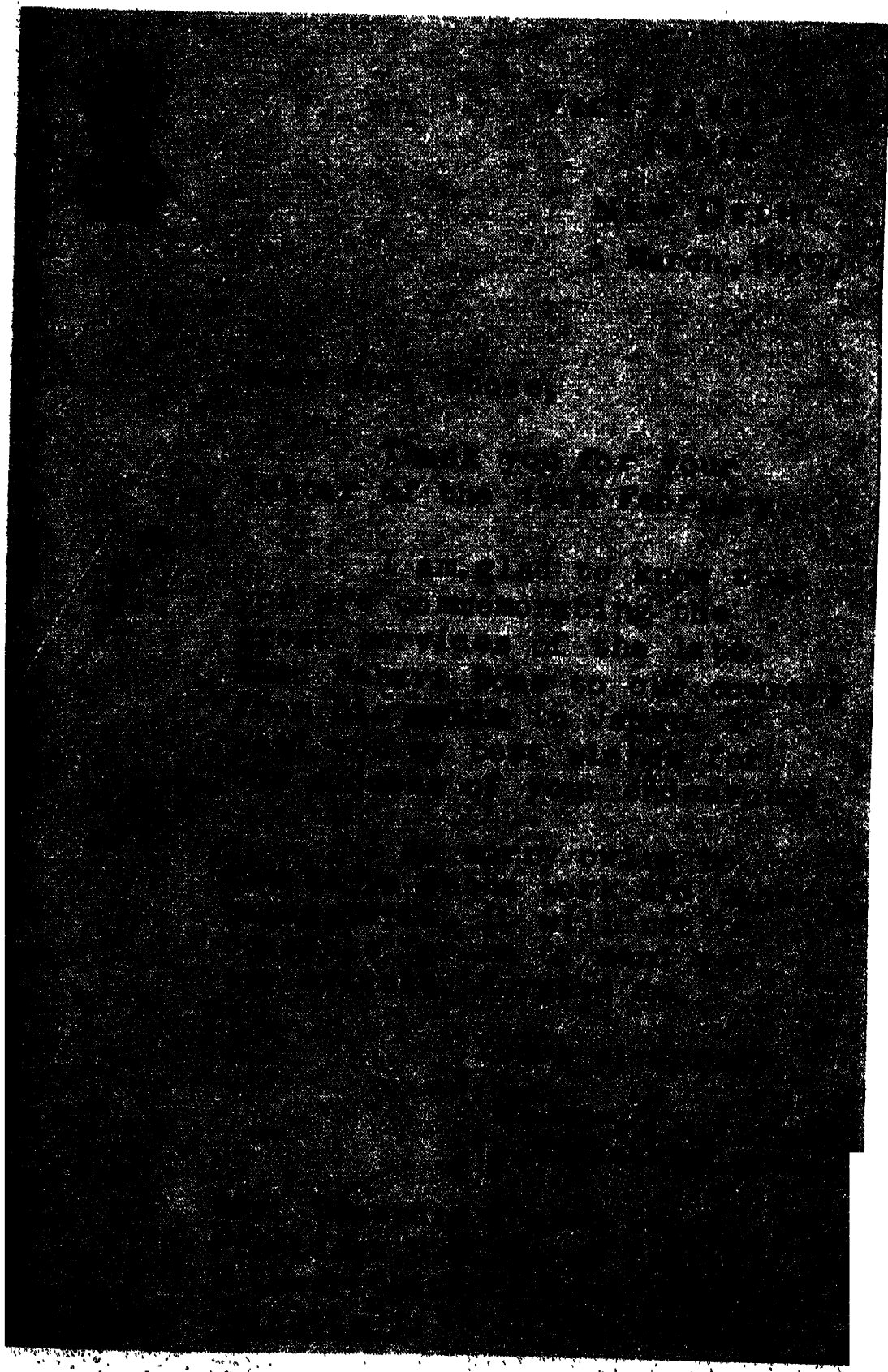
Thank you for your letter of 5th May, , referring
to the above matter.

Malayans, in fact, are indebted to the late Shri Rashbehari Basuji for his courage and struggle for independence. His revolution has indeed waken up the peoples of the Far East to cry for freedom and the dream of our most beloved Basuji is becoming more and more realistic.

The Malaysians and especially the Indians have never forgotten Shri Rashbehari Basuji and still there are many loyal volunteers of his Independence League in Malaya. As a mark of respect, it must be the duty of every Indian to observe the Anniversary of the late Shri Rashbehari Basuji and I can well assure you that we in this country will continue to remember and pay our respect to him.

JAI HIND

Yours faithfully,
S. MURUGESU,
Secretary General.



Dear Friend,

I thank you for your kind letter of February 19. You will please pardon this delay in reply due to many personal sorrows and bereavements that have completely unnerved me.

I am glad to learn that a Committee has been formed for receiving the ashes of Shri Rash Behari Bose from Japan, and that a Souvenir is being brought out on the occasion. He deserves to be remembered by us, his countrymen, for his great courage and patriotic work in difficult times.

I along with a million others, offer my tribute of gratitude and admiration to the memory of Shri Rash Behari Bose who played such a notable part in our Freedom struggle. The labours of stalwarts like him, have made To-day possible, and we have to remember their sufferings and self-sacrifices when we are engaged in the consolidation of our Unity and the ensuring of our Liberty for the future.

Thanking you for your kind thought of me.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
SRI PRAKASA.

M E S S A G E

Many are the names that have been inscribed in letters of gold in the scroll of fighters for India's freedom not the least of whom is that of Bashbehari Basu. In the dark days of British rule this patriot found India too hot for himself. He eluded the vigilance of the police and reached Japan. There he founded the Indian Independence League and in collaboration with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose carried on India's struggle for independence from overseas. Even in Japan his life was not easy for he was hounded by British agents aided by Japanese officialdom. He had to go underground for eight years till he secured the rights of a Japanese national . Before he could return to India, death quenched this dauntless spirit on the 21st January, 1945 in an alien land. His life was a perilous adventure, his death a noble inspiration.

I understand that his daughter will bring his ashes from Japan to India shortly. A Smarak Samity has been formed to perpetuate the memory of this great patriot. I appeal to my countrymen to contribute generously to the funds of this Samity.


(B. C. Roy)



NO: SR-96(MESG)(6H)/59
SADAR-I-RIYASAT'S SECRETARIAT
JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Jammu Tawi,
March 20, 1959.

Shri Hemendra Prasad Ghose,
President,
Rashbehari Basu Smarak Samity,
7, Lower Chitpore Road, 2nd Floor,
Calcutta-1.

Reference your letter dated the 24th February, 1959
addressed to Shri Yuvaraj Karansinghji Sadar-i-Riyasat
Jammu and Kashmir.

Who can forget the work done by Shri Rashbehari Bose
for the complete independence of India? He was a gallant
warrior of the Indian Freedom Movement.

The Sadar-i-Riyasat wishes your venture every success.

I. N. DEWÂN.

THAKIN U. NU,
The Prime Minister of Burma (1951).

“The story of Mr. Rashbehari Basu forms a vital part of India's Struggle for Independence, and the victory which was finally achieved was in no small measure due to his organisational skill and wonderful spirit of sacrifice.”

It is also to be quoted here, “If Netaji came out in the light as Garibaldi of the movement, Rashbehari's part in the drama was more than that of a Mazzini”.

THAKIN U. NU.

SECRET

SECRET

कलिकाता-२७

1990

Office :
Consulate General of Japan 112, SOUTHERN AVENUE
Calcutta CALCUTTA-29.

*On the occasion of Rash Behari Bose's
74th Birth Anniversary.*

Rash Behari Bose was one of those who lived the life of a Japanese in Japan. Rash Behari was in Japan for many years. He was an intimate friend of the whole of Japan and the Japanese.

He was not merely a student of Japanese art and culture, but was a friend of his neighbours in Japan, always ready to help them in their weal and woe.

On this memorable day we remember that magnanimous personality. We pray to God so that our friend India might find hundreds of Rash Beharis amongst her sons to lead the country and her people to prosperity.

Calcutta,
The 25th May, 1959

Sd/- K. KANEKO,
Vice-Consul of Japan.

LETTERS TO MOTILAL ROY OF PRABARTAK
SANGHA, CHANDERNAGORE

(I)

Om

Japan, Tokyo,
9-3-21.

Dearest Motilal,

I learn that you have approached
the authorities for getting me amnestied.
Please accept my hearty thanks.

As regards my present political
views, my two letters to Trish, always
published in the S.B., clearly show them.

Yes, if we want Swaraj, we must
make ourselves fit for that. We
must first of all establish living
within ourselves, necessary preli-

minary to the establishment of
real Swaraj. Do you understand
me? You, the brooky one amongst
us, has been chosen for the pro-
pagation of this ideal. You are
a fit material, as I always said
in my first letter to Trish & hence
this mission has fallen on you.

Go ahead brother & success is
yours. In times of stress & strain
you found me by your side, &
in the new Sadhana, you will
also find me in the right place.
Obstacles & impediments there will
be - because they are necessary -
in our noble commitment to truth.

us. to discipline us. to show us the way of self control. to purge us of our defects which by the way are still numerous & playing havoc over our everyday life. Obstacles & impediments we must overcome by the grace of that almighty who gave this new vision to us & has opened before us such immense possibilities. Who showed us that there was something greater than so-called politics - something higher, nobler, transcendental. Well I am existing like a madman. At times I am attacked with this disease. yes, disease if you may call it if you like. I wanted to write to you about armistice business, but lo, I have wandered into something else. excuse me. The thing is that the disease - a restlessness, a struggle - is pervading the air. yes, I see from the copies of the correspondence sent to me that the govt has changed its angle of vision & is willing to consider the cases of people like ours. Well, in my case, the O.S.G. has arrived in

of opinion that representation should be made to D.C.I. ~~that~~ you can assure the govt. that the Raskolani of old is dead & gone. This is a new Raskolani, animated & invigorated with a new life, new forces that are visible everywhere, ~~that~~ will in the ultimate course of things make this world a really fit place to live in for all. Do you comprehend? Certainly you do, because the time that is rising ^{in your heart} is also present here in a far away off land thousands of miles away & working the heaven. You can approach the D.C.I. on my behalf & if he has anything wants ~~of~~ any information, I shall be glad to furnish it.

Please do write soon & let me know how you all are enjoying the Americans.

Yours affectionately

Rash Behari

My address:

R. B. Bose
C/o Yoshitaka Kuzo,
2 Tameike, Akasaka,
Tokyo.

P.S. Please let me know the full
address of D.C.I. East of here.

(II)

Om

1874

Dearest Mahi:

I send you herewith a photo & name card of Mr. Bopinoza. His native place is Cowlands formerly belonging to Russia & now nominally independent. Owing his stay in the U.S. he has come in to close contact with many Indians - from the rankest revolutionist to the extreme moderate not excluding the people of the Vedantā Ashrama (Rama-Krishna of hallowed memory). He is, as far as I could gather by talking with him for a couple of hours, a very simple man. He brought to me an introductory letter of a certain Indian revolutionist from America. Of course I have never seen this gentleman. He too only knows me by name.

When his ²Basinoga saw me with the
 letter, I plainly told him that I was
 no more a political revolutionist
 but a spiritual revolutionist. He
 seemed to understand me, ~~he is~~ and
 talked with me about Spiritism.
 It appeared from his talk that he
 was not altogether ignorant of our
 sashtras ~~at the~~ ^{the} ~~can~~ prevailing customs
 & manners. He is going to Dr. Mukaji,
 whose address is noted on his name
 card enclosed herewith, as an auth.
 At the same time he will represent
 some American firms here. When
 he landed here, he was penniless.
 So I arranged for a loan of Rs.
 100 to him for his passage to Cal-
 cutta. He is now arranging it &
 it is hoped that he will be able
 to secure one by the end of the
 current month or the begin-
 ing of the next month. Anyway, ~~he~~ ^{he}
 he shall reach India by the
 end of June. ~~As~~ As I found
 a very good material in him, I
 advised him to see you as soon
 as possible & realize the real

I spirit & Mission of New India. I gave him a copy of the Standard Bearer & asked him first to see Kaling, the (N.C. O.H., publisher of the S.B.) & then ask him to make arrangements for seeing you. He hopes to earn sufficient money & therefore expressed the hope to serve me. I said I did not require any money except what was needed for my livelihood & that if he could spare any, he should do so for the cause of the New Mission. Then I asked him to consult with you about this when he has sufficient money to spare.

What is needed now is to make him forget his ideas about Indian political revolution & take in the new idea of spiritual revolutionists. You, as my friend, philosopher & guide & friend, will be able to bring him under your spiritual influence & consequently I send him to you. The soul is good, but his mind was misdirected. His age is 34 years. He is unmarried. I gather from his talk that he expects to contract a sort of permanent alliance with India.

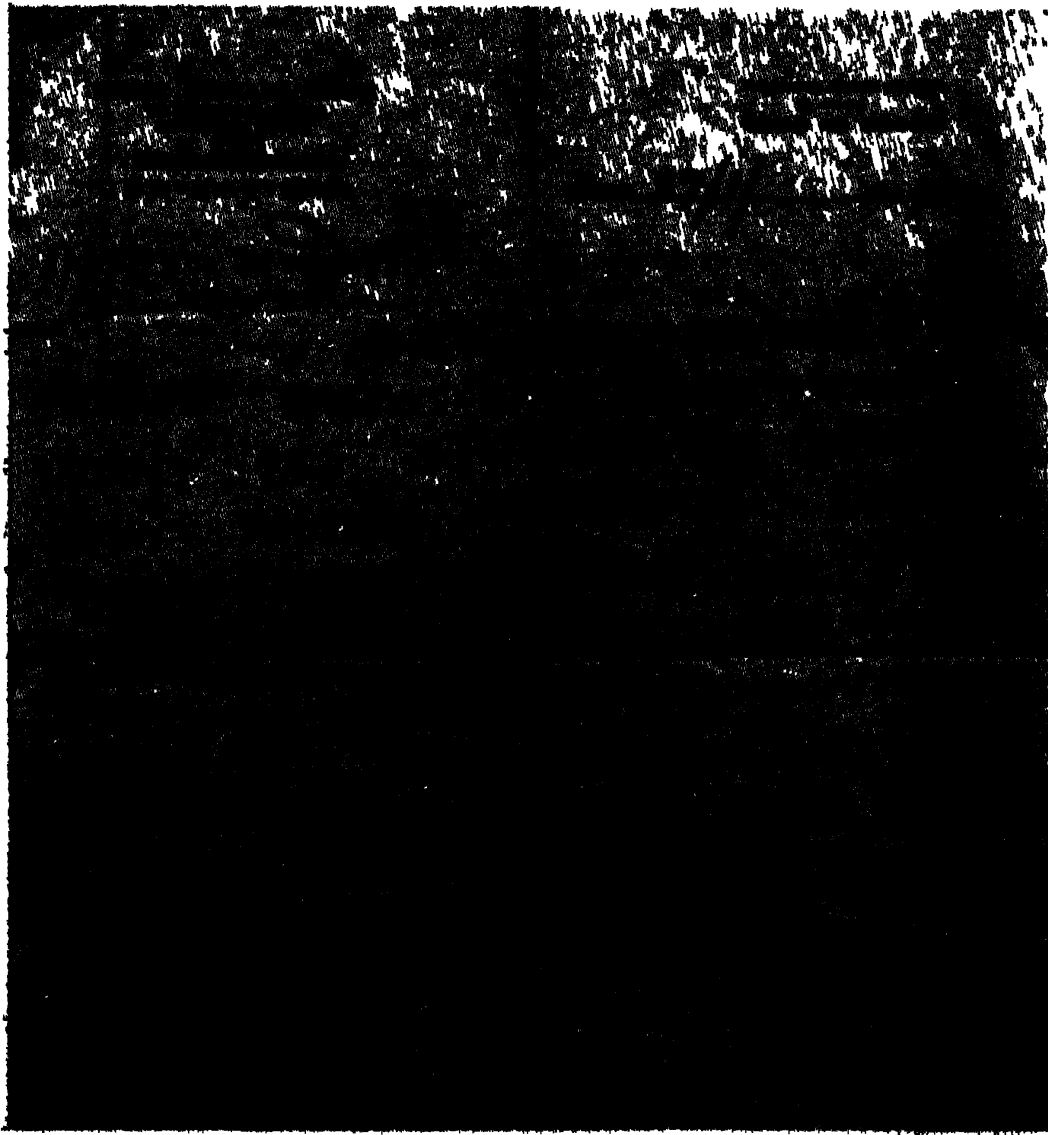
Will love
save
with love
a
life

To,

Srish Ghosh.

.. "You will perhaps be glad to know that I have got myself naturalised here. This will enable me to travel in any part of the world except the British possessions..... Before the naturalisation I was practically cooped up in a cage. I could not even travel inside Japan freely, not to speak of visiting Korea, China or Russia. The British were all along keeping their eyes on me. But now I am beyond their control and jurisdiction and they can't do anything legally".

Prabartak (Monthly), Falgoon, 1330.



Basu's Letter to His Sister

LETTERS TO SACHIN SANYAL

(J.)

TOKYO,
JAPAN,
Dt. 12.4.22.

My dearest,.....

.....The idea that I could not protect.....all from the inhuman.....they were subjected to make me restless. Of course I consoled myself with the fact that by passing through the agony of fire.....I have come out a better and purer soul. But I did not like the tone of pessimism that pervaded some part of.....letter. There is eternal life, so work is eternal. You need not be anxious about impurity, even if there is any.....of course there is no necessity of secret work, and I quite agree with you. Hitherto our knowledge of international situation was very meagre. We mostly confined our attention to India. But now I have come to understand a bit of international politics. This has greatly altered my former ideas. Please remember that we shall have to—rather we are destined to—tackle the problem of the world. It is India's mission to usher in a new era of real peace and happiness in the world. India's freedom is but a means to this end and it is not an end in itself.

—*Vandijiban*, pp. 75-76.

9th July, 1922.
Tokyo,

(II)

My dearest.....

Your letter.....reached me yesterday. What did you wish me to write? And what was your heart's desire? I think I was sufficiently clear in my letter. Of course there are many things which I cannot write in letters for obvious reasons, and your curiosity about them must remain unsatisfied till we meet again. The most noteworthy thing however is that my whole outlook has been broadened and I gave you a hint in this connection in my last letter. *Independence India must have. Because her independence is essential for the regeneration of the whole world. It is not the end in itself, but it is a means to an end and that end is the destruction of imperialism and militarism and the creation of a better world for all to live in. It is India's mission.....*I like Japan and I have come to adore her, because I am convinced that she will stand for Asian Independence when the time comes. When I came here first, the Japanese had little knowledge of the state of affairs in India. It is chiefly through our efforts and sacrifices that to-day every Japanese is closely following the trend of events in India. I have got many Japanese friends, from the cabinet ministers down to lawyers, M.P.'s, journalists and students. Many books in Japanese about Gandhi and Indian movement have been published, and the papers and magazines are regularly carrying articles on India. This month a Professor in Tokyo Imperial University, published a voluminous book in Japanese on India. Next month I am engaged to deliver lectures on Indian situation for three days.....To-day most of the young men here are staunch

advocates of Asian Independence. Even older men and responsible officials are in sympathy with the new awakening noticed from Persia to China. The most remarkable national trait (here) is patriotism. And the people are ready to revere and love those who have the same characteristics. This is the reason that we are given protection. But for Japanese sympathy and love, I would have been dead long ago... About going back to India, well brother, I do not want to return till India is free. Your 'Bowdidi' is learning Bengali.

—*Vandi-jibana*, pp. 76-78.

* Italics are ours.

BASU'S LETTER TO THE EDITOR
YOUNG INDIA

SIR,

I am an Indian—a refugee in Japan. I am not sure whether it is not the height of impertinence for an insignificant humble being like me to join issue with you, or for the matter of that with most of the Congress leaders on a subject on which you all are regarded as, or at least supposed to be authorities, having spent much time and money in the study of political philosophy as propounded by the English writers. As an Indian and as one who tried in the past to serve Mother India in his own way and who hopes to continue his work in future, although along different lines, I, however, consider it of paramount importance to address you these few lines in order to get a clearly definite expression of your opinion on a vital question.

In the *Young India* of August 3, 1922 (page 321) you reproduced under the heading "The Mentality of Free Nations" an article from an Australian Labour paper passing rightly a severe criticism about Mr. Shastri's mission, and remarked therein: It is no wonder that the attitude of Australian workers is one of disgust towards an Indian who accepts the subjection of his country to foreign rule, when it is sought to be kept up not by consent but by force of military power. "Now I would respectfully ask you to let the Indian people know through the columns of your paper if there is a single instance in the whole world of a foreign rule kept up by the consent of the governed. For a free and full growth, complete freedom is absolutely essential not only for human beings but also for animals and plants even. The domination of one by another is unnatural

and contrary to the highest impulse of human nature. No people on earth can consent to be governed by another people. It is an anomaly and except in English political literature this phraseology, i.e., to maintain foreign rule with the consent of the governed, cannot be found anywhere else in the world. There can be either Freedom or the opposite of it—Slavery. There is no midway. If you and other venerable leaders want real liberty of India, you must be prepared to sever all British connection and must announce to the effect. On the other hand, if it is the object of the Congress not to exert for complete independence but to endeavour to better Indian's lot within the Empire and to ensure her more humane treatment at the hands of her conqueror by securing Home Rule which, in other words, means perpetuation of her present position of a slave, the Congress leaders should say so plainly. It certainly does more harm than good to adopt an unnatural course, as implied in your remarks about foreign rule with the consent of the governed.

I have had a talk on this subject with many Americans and Japanese, some of them being authorities on international laws. They just simply cannot understand what the Indian leaders mean by Home Rule or status of equal partnership within the Empire. Australia and Canada can have real freedom within the Empire for the sole reason that they are peopled by the same British race and have the same customs, manners, traditions, religion and language. They are quite right and logical when they claim the Empire as their own. But the case of India is quite different. She is a conquered country inhabited by people of completely different customs, traditions, religion and language. For India to desire to remain within the Empire is to acknowledge herself as a slave. Freedom and slavery cannot go together. If India wants freedom, she must completely sever all connections with Britain. Of course she

will be at liberty to conclude a friendly alliance with England, but that should be done as between equals, between two sovereign states. If she wants Home Rule or status of equal partnership within the Empire, it cannot mean anything else than that she desires to perpetuate her serfhood.

Yours truly,
RASH BEHARI BOSE.

Tokyo, Japan.
September 21, 1922.

TRIBUTES FROM JAPAN



**Mrs. Kokkoh Soma—the Mother-in-law
of Shri Rash Behari Basu.**



**Shri Rash Behari Basu studying Japanese v
in underground at Tokyo. He master
Japanese language within four and
half months' time.**



Mrs. Kokkoh Soma and Mrs. Toshiko Basu, the Mother-in-law and the wife of Rash Behari Basu respectively in Indian Sarees.

Bose and Toshiko

by Mrs. Kokkoh Soma

It was November 28, 1915. I learned that a poor young Indian revolutionary was being deported by the Police. He had been ordered to quit Japan within 5 days. A young revolutionary in exile deported and to be placed in the hands of the British Government. That meant death.

In these days, I was always in our shop with my husband wrapping bread or receiving money or entertaining our customers. My husband was very much depressed by this news about the Indian and became very anxious about the fate of the poor deportee. In the morning he caught hold of Mr. Nakamura, one of our old customers, the then Editor of Niroku newspaper and was asking him about the fate of the deportee :

"It is very regrettable that the Indian boy is obliged to go..... Isn't it?"

"Yes, indeed, it is very regrettable..... The foreign Affairs Minister's slave mentality towards the British Embassy is a disgrace..... But there is nothing to be done in spite of Mr. Toyama's sincere intention to save him....."

My husband was talking very eagerly with Mr. Nakamura. But as I was occupied with many customers. I did not know what my husband proposed. My husband went out for some business.

But a few hours later, Mr. Nakamura came in hot haste to see my husband again, and I learned for the first time what my husband had proposed to Mr. Nakamura. But no

one knew where he was. We rang up every number that we knew of.

Suddenly the bell rang. My husband was on 'phone. "It's you ?, Ah, we have been making search for you for hours and hours..... Where are you? You must come back at once. You had made a very serious proposition to Mr. Nakamura this morning. He wants to see you at once".

"I am coming"—His reply was cut off before he finished his last words.

He was then in a restaurant taking his late tiffin after having finished his routine business. But in the course of his tiffin he had suddenly recollected the conversation that he had in the morning with Mr. Nakamura. So he stopped finishing his midday tiffin and rung me up next day; the press of Tokyo announced the disappearance of Bose and his friend. We were no more simply readers of newspaper. We were involved in the big international affair. We have received Mr. Bose and his friend secretly in the night.

I could not understand why and how the proposition of my husband, a simple baker, was accepted by a great man like Mr. Toyama.

At that time, Mr. Toyama's house with its specious gaden was in the centre of Tokyo, by the side of that of Prof. Terao. Bose and his friend came to Mr. Toyama's through the garden. There they were in disguise: Bose put on Mr. Toyama's hat and Kimono (Japanese toga), and Gupta clad in the big overcoat of Mr. Tukuda, you know, the big strong militant leader of all national movement, and accompanied by Mr. Miyagawa crossed the back garden of Mr. Terao's house and went out by the back entrance seldom used and got in the car waiting for there. My husband

went out by the porch and front gate of Mr. Toyama's house and made a detour towards the back entrance and joined them and came back home.

In front of Mr. Toyama's house, there were the car of the Prefecture of Police, and the car that had brought Mr. Bose and his friend and several policemen in uniform and detectives in plain clothes waiting for the two deportees all the afternoon and till the evening. But neither Bose nor his friend came out.

Late in the evening, all the windows in Mr. Toyama's house were closed and the police did not wait more. They came into the porch and asked for the two deportees. A servant replied that they had gone away a few hours before. The police were in panic. They mobilized their forces and surrounded Mr. Toyama's big home and garden ; but they were afraid to intrude into the house of the man everyone respected. They could not insist upon more. Though two pairs of shoes of the two deportees were still in the porch.

Mr. Toyama in his reading room hearing of the hustle and noises outside said : "This is very bad. If they were dismissed on this account, I must do something for them...."

He paid the car waiting for Bose.

The car carrying Bose and his friends was one among the powerful cars in Tokyo at that time, belonging to Dr. Sugiyama. At that time there was no car that could overtake it.

It was nine in the evening. My shop was closing its doors but there were, as usual, still many customers to attend to. The four including Mr. Bose and his friend both disguised and two Japanese arrived and came inside. But

after a few minutes, the four went out and drive away again in the darkness of night. But this time three of the four were my clerks and the other was Mr. Tukuda.

Dr. Sugiyama, the owner of the car, being anxious about Mr. Bose and his friend asked his driver about them after coming home. He replied, "I carried Mr. Tukuda and his three friends to Nakamura near Siuziki Station and they made some shopping there and came again to Yotuya and there went away excepting Mr. Tukuda who said that they should take a walk,.....I took Mr. Tukuda to his home."

Next day in the morning, my husband reveled a secret plan to all his personal servants. They had been with him some years. My husband said, "My friend, I am going to risk a big danger, perhaps the biggest in all my life. I am going to hide the two poor Indians doomed to deportation as revolutionaries in exile in my old atelier. This is a risky adventure for me ; but I dare it as it is an international affair. We Japanese cannot let them die before our own eyes?....."

No objection was made by any one. The servants were rather very much pleased to know the decision..... They replied respectively : "Very well, Master, very well, Master, we shall help you and protect them at any risk even at the risk of our lives. If we were attacked, we will defend them by force till we die and during our fight you can remove them somewhere to save them. Yes, we assure you".

They were so passionate and bright : I appointed one of my two maids to wait upon Bose.

Fortunately, our family had many members and servants and there were always many friends and clients in our stores as well as in our house. Foreigners were not seldom there.

So we were never suspected if we purchased some food for foreigners.

Mr. Bose felt surprised in my house and family. Our house was behind the stores. Ours was a big family—big, as we counted all my clerks and servants as members of our family. Bose must have been very uneasy feeling lonely and quite a stranger among the Japanese whose language he could not understand.

I was very happy to say that all my family members collaborated with us in saving Bose. I could speak English a little. But I could not see Bose often and for a long time at one stretch as I had to attend to my stores all day long. I disappeared from time to time, our clients used to ask, "Where is madame Kokkoh?" Now a days we do not see her? or "Why madame Kokkoh disappears from time to time?" etc.

So I had to keep my usual position in the stores and to write slips in English to Mr. Bose, my advice concerning changing weather or climate, or asking what he wanted to take in the evening and the next morning. But writing in English was unusual. I could not give such a memo slip to my boys or servant in the presence of so many clients during day time. It was extremely difficult to keep Mr. Bose in close contact. I used to send such memo always in secret with caution. I made my servant cook their meal in the atelier.

According to newspapers, the investigation about the disappearance of the Indians carried on by the police more and more strictly. Many big international persons were under investigation, or detained in the police office. The British Embassy was attacking the Foreign Affairs Ministry and blaming them for the disappearance of the

Indians. Rumours were circulating in and from many directions unexpected.

One day Prof. X of the Waseda University came to our stores and told my husband—"I know where Bose and his friend are being protected : "My husband was shocked very much but asked him where they were.

"Yes", said he "I know, I am sure, they must be protected in the house of the President of our University".

My husband relaxed. Count Okuma being the founder President of the Indo-Japanese Society was suspected too. Every big important man was suspected.

My Nisikito, the Prefect of the Police pressed by the Foreign Minister, made all detectives investigate the clients of all butchers' shops in Tokyo. No Indians take meat, but no one knew it at that time.

But after that unlawful and brutal raid of the British warship on the Japanese steamer sailing for Hongkong to kidnap 6 poor innocent passengers, Japanese Public opinion was roused against British Policy. The Foreign Affairs Ministry was obliged to change their policy too. Thus after four months and a half, the deportation order of the Police Prefecture was withdrawn. Mr. Bose got freedom and could go out from the house one fine morning in April, 1916. I was then sick in bed. I had fallen a victim of the anxiety and the fatigue of the great sorrow at having lost my baby.

I lost the baby two weeks after the arrival of Mr. Bose. Under severe nervous strain my milk could not feed my baby enough and sufficiently. Since then my anxiety of being under the suspicion of the police detectives, day in and day out and the grief of the mother at the death of my baby bore



Poet Rabindranath Tagore with Shri Rash Behari Basu and his family at Shri Basu's residence at Tokyo.

Front Row :— Poet Tagore, Mr. Aizo Soma and Mrs. Kokkoh Soma, master Mashahide Basu.

Back Row ;—Shri Basu and Shrimati Toshiko Basu an Miss Tetsuku Basu.

me down ; and obliged me to keep in bed. But yet I had to get up and stand in the stores to protect our important guests from India.

In the morning of Mr. Bose's departure, he came to my bedroom to say goodbye, as I could not go downstairs.

But how noble, and beautiful he was in a Japanese Kimono, the Samurai used for ceremonies the we had ordered specially for his honourable day. He was splendid.

"Dear Mother, I do not know how to thank you, you have lost your beloved baby to save me. -Mother, I do not have words to express my deepest gratitude".

He called me "mother", I could not speak. We wept hand in hand. I could not go down to see him off. But I followed with my eyes his car going away from my window, with tears in my eyes.

.. I have lost my baby but I got close contact with the spirit of great Mother India. . . .

II.

It was well nigh impossible to protect Mr. Bose from the brutal, unlawful and merciless hands of the British Embassy after his departure from our house unless some one stayed with him day and night. My husband accompanied him both disguised here there. But he could not continue this for ever, and Mr. Bose could not stay alone. He was still a stranger and it was very difficult to escape notice.

We were very anxious how to protect him against the British Embassy. We were at a loss to decide upon our course of action.

One day Mr. Toyama proposed to marry my eldest daughter Tosiko to Mr. Bose.

At first we were upset at the unexpected proposal. We had to think it over for many days. We loved Mr. Bose as our son. He called us father and mother. Our affection towards Bose was something extraordinary. We had deep respect for him. But we had never imagined about his marriage with our Tosiko. Never even in our widest dream.

But how could we ask Tosiko? It was too delicate a matter to ask her. Moreover, it was too great a speculation for a young girl still attending school.

But we realised that there was no other way to take. the pursuit of detectives paid by the British Embassy was becoming more and more severe, Mr. Bose was in danger.

We prayed. Tosiko could accept this risk, may be dangerous mission for the sake of four hundred millions of people of India...

At last, I talked to Tosiko about Mr. Toyama's suggestion.

"Tosiko, couldn't you save Mr. Bose?... It is too big a mission for you... But there is no one else who can do it".

She replied "Let me think it over, please mother for a time".

Since that day, she became taciturn. She was thinking very seriously day in and day out...

After one month, the day came when I had to give a reply to Mr. Toyama. I called Tosiko to my room and asked her

about her decision. Worrying very deeply and soliciting that she could speak without ignoring her free will, controlling myself quietly I awaited her reply.

. She replied steadily, "Mother, please let me go to Mr. Bose, and allow me to be his flesh-shield. I am determined."

I was struck by her noble resolve. She was my daughter. I could not decide if I were happy or unhappy. I asked in tears "You say, please let me go but you know, this will not be a joyful and hopeful marriage... Really you can unify yourself with Mr. Bose? Really can you protect Mr. Bose at all cost?"

I explained the situation again and again.

She was determined.

So we asked Mr. Bose if he would marry Tosiko and if he was unmarried, for we had been told that one marries very early in India.

"No, I am not married. I was determined at the age of fifteen to devote my all for the independence of India, I had never thought about marriage since then as I was afraid that they might be tortured after my departure... Much more how could I imagine of a married life?... But if it is Mr. Toyama's intention and it is Miss Tosiko, I could but obey..."

Mr. Toyama was very much pleased when he heard that they are both determined. He said, "Well, well, then I will do my best to protect both."

Thus Tosiko was married to Mr. Bose through Mr. Toyama and the ceremony was presided over by him too. But it was all in secret. I made my son Tikako (then 19) make preparations for the marriage. I was always in bed.

All baggages etc. were despatched secretly and the day of the marriage ceremony came. Tosiko went out only accompanied by her father.

What a solitary departure for the eldest daughter of the family of Soma.

I could not go with her. I saw her off from bedroom upstairs through the window as I had seen off Mr. Bose a few months ago.

When Mr. Bose was naturalised after those long eight years of solitary life in concealment changing home more than seventeen times to escape the hands of assassins or kid-nappers, he and Tosiko could have a small home for the first time.

But then, Tosiko collapsed, because of her nervous strain. She was gone at the age of 28, without enjoying a happy married life and leaving only a son and a daughter.

Poor and short was her life.

We took charge of Mr. Bose's children so that he could devote all his activities for the independence of his native country.

Ten years later, I spoke to Mr. Bose, "You should now enter into a new life. We can take charge of Masahide and Tetuko without any difficulties. They are all grown up."

Indeed there had been more than one Japanese girls who struck by Mr. Bose's noble spirit were willing to marry him and help him in his great mission.

But he laughed at the idea of another marriage.



**Shri Rash Behari Basu and his wife
Shrimati Toshiko Basu.**



**Shri Rash Behari Basu with his son Masahide Basu and
his daughter Miss Tetsuku Basu**

“Mother, it is impossible to find Tosiko's love again . . . it is painful for me even to think of such a thing. I have my dear mother, and father. That is more than enough. I am happy. Tosiko is always with me as she was during my lovely eight years in concealment. Moreover my life is not mine, it is offered to my native country. I was and am satisfied to have had eight years with Tosiko. That is more than enough.”

Hearing this, I said to my daughter living in my memory :

“Tosiko, what a happy girls you are. Mr. Bose is truly a big man : He is a little too big for you. Is it not so ? You are quite happy, are you not ?”

My Memory About The Late Rash Behari Bose

Rev. Nikki Kimura

More than ten years have passed since the death of my respected friend the late Rash Behari Bose.

Praying for the blessing of his spirit, I recall to my mind a part of his great work and respectfully place my memories before his spirit.

1907. I went to India as a resident student to study Buddhism in that country and stayed at Chittagong,—the only centre of the Southern Buddhism (Hináyáná), that remained in India.

I started to study Pali and Sanskrit. It was just in the midst of the second furious revolutionary movement in India ; that is to say, it was the time in the virulent conditions of anti-British movement.

Perhaps it was one year after my arrival at Chittagong when an accident occurred that one of revolutionists, named Rash Behari Bose attacked the Governor General of India at Delhi with bomb. The British authorities in India instantly started to search for the criminal, offering special prize to the secret informants for arrest of Bose. Posters for this purpose were observed everywhere in India. Thus I became acquainted with the name of Rashbehari Bose, as as Indian revolutionist.

I left Chittagong for Calcutta after 3 or 4 years' stay and entered the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, where I com-

menaced to study various subjects of ancient culture under Indian scholars. .

It was the days of the eminent poet Tagore who was very famous.

I read his poems with interest and respected him as my revered teacher of Bengali. He also loved me and I called on him at his Jorasanko home every day ; sometimes several times in a day from my boarding house.

1914. Probably in this year the poet Tagore received the Nobel prize for writing "Gitanjali".

1915. Next year, he told me that he had long cherished a desire to go to Japan and that he would like to visit Japan by all means within one or two years. He requested me to accompany him to act as his interpreter and also asked me to make all necessary arrangements beforehand.

So I returned to Japan at the end of March 1915 after a lapse of 8 years to arrange for his trip in 1915.

When I was making arrangements in Japan for Poet Tagore, I happened to meet Mr. Lajpat Rai in Tokyo, who was at that time a very famous Indian leader and a great nationalist. I heard from him that he visited Japan on his way home from America.

I understood from his various talks that Mr. Rashbehari Bose was in hiding in Tokyo after his flight to Japan from India. He gave me the address of Mr. Bose. Later on, I called on Mr. Rashbehari Bose, an Indian Revolutionist, from whom I heard the true facts of his escape as follows :—

He ran about trying to escape from India to avoid arrest

by the British authorities as he could not stay in India any longer. Fortunately he heard that the great Poet Tagore was preparing to leave for Japan and so he disguised himself as a member of the Tagore family and narrowly escaped to Japan from India.

This was the first time I had an intimate interview and had pleasant talks with Mr. Rashbehari Bose.

He was not only a respectable Indian gentleman, but also a man of patriotic spirit with fervent soul. I paid my highest respect to his sincerity and knew the high value of his true heart. After the interview, I became his intimate friend.

1916. The great Poet Rabindranath Tagore came to Japan this year and was welcomed by the Japanese people. All Japanese were completely fascinated by his profound lectures, which encouraged our people very much and led them to see the bright side of human lives.

1917. I went again to India to study further various branches of Indian philosophy under Prof. H. P. Shastri.

1918. The next year (1918) I was appointed by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, to act as lecturer in Post-Graduate Course, and afterwards continued as lecturer for about 15 years, giving lectures on the subjects of Buddhist philosophy and Buddhist history.

1924. Once again I returned to Japan at the direction of the Calcutta University and fulfilled my duty for establishing connections between Calcutta University and each existing University in Japan and also to contribute Calcutta University's publications to the main Universities in Japan.

Mr. Rashbehari Bose who had been enjoying the biggest confidence at that time among the Japanese, gave me a splendid welcome party when he heard about my return to Japan from India. My relationship with him further increased since then.

1931. I returned again to Japan on account of illness but my position as the lecturer at Calcutta University remained unchanged.

Shortly after my return from India, I had formed India/Japan Friendship Association (Nichi-in-Tomonokai) with Mr. Rashbehari Bose ; and big meetings were held 4 or 5 times a year for the purpose of promoting the India/Japan friendly relations.

Although he had been in Japan for more than 30 years as an Indian refugee, he was always thinking of Indian Independence. He never forgot of the independence of his mother country. He endeavoured to introduce to us stories of India, or Indian religions and political news of India. Particularly he paid keen attention to the movements of Mr. Gandhi and introduced to us his famous books. Also he introduced to Japan Indian ancient cultures. Indeed his activities were wonderful and his affectionate patriotism for his mother country was really something pathetic. We, the Japanese, always paid him our highest respect to find him as the splendid patriot of his mother country.

1941. Since the outbreak of the 1st Pacific War, the Japanese army advanced to Singapore and Malaya with irresistible force. At that time His Excellency Hideki Tojo was the Prime Minister and Secretary of War. He had an intention to lead India and all countries in South-East Asia to bring about revolutions to realize independence, and assist them to organize and co-operate amongst themselves.

He appointed me to act as an adviser to the Japanese Army General Staff Office, and requested me to render every assistance to realize Indian Independence. In order to do it, the General Staff Office desired to call out all Indians outside India but residing in Asian countries, and to form a Volunteer Corps by Indian war prisoners in South-East Asia ; and to co-operate with Japanese army. In view of the above, I was requested by the General Staff Office to recommend a suitable person to be the leader of such Volunteer Corps, for instance, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who was at that time a refugee in Germany.

Mr. Subhas Bose, being a right-hand man of the Great Gandhi, was a very influential person, and as such was thought to be really the proper person to be the leader of Indian Volunteer Corps,—if formed by the war prisoners in South-East of Asia. However, I had another plan and proposed that for the time being, it would be better to appoint Mr. Rashbehari Bose as the leader of the Volunteer Corps, who was at that time a refugee in Tokyo, living here for many years. I opined that Mr. Subhas Bose might probably be called later on, but for a while it would be the best to appoint Mr. Rashbehari Bose as their leader. The General Staff Office took my advice and decided to implement it ; and requested me to negotiate this matter with Mr. Rashbehari Bose as soon as possible.

1942. In the Spring of this year, Indian Independence League was organized under the leadership of Mr. Rashbehari Bose and splendid celebrations were held at many places throughout Japan. In May Mr. Rashbehari accompanied by some influential Indians residing in Japan went to Singapore and started vigorous activities to form the Volunteer Corps by Indian war prisoners. He had to make desperate efforts continuously for about one year trying to achieve it. Due to the very strenuous work and worries

during this period, he became so ill that he was obliged to return to Japan for recovery of his health. Alas, I was very much shocked and surprised to hear that the condition of his health was quite serious and beyond all hope of recovery.

Owing to the above fact, as a last resort, after due consultations with the General Staff, we decided to invite Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to Japan by aeroplane and submarine and to appoint him as the new leader of the Indian Volunteer Corps.

On the next day of his arrival in Japan, I in company with him visited Mr. Rashbehari Bose at his home and had a conference amongst us three persons; when Mr. Bose explained in detail the development and formation of Indian Volunteer Corps; and then he declared that the leadership of the Volunteer Corps thence-on rests on the shoulders of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. He fervently requested Mr. Subhas Bose to do his best to strengthen the Volunteer Corps and to make Independence movement fully successful soliciting earnestly with burning tears while Mr. Subhas Bose listened quietly and could not say anything except shedding tears, deeply moved by Rashbehari's talk. After a few minutes' silence and sobbing sounds of three of us, Mr. Subhas Bose's face showed firm resolution (to carry out the request of Mr. Rashbehari).

Thus the curtain of this dramatic conference was closed under deep feelings and tears.

A few days after this event, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose went to Singapore where he was welcomed by all Indians as an influential leader of India and from that time he became the new leader of the Indian Volunteer Corps. And then the dignified Volunteer Corps advanced up to Imphal under the gallant formation of Combat Unit. This military opera-

tion to Imphal ended in failure. Japan was also finally defeated by atomic bombs dropped by the U.S. army.

It is to be greatly regretted that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose died in the aeroplane accident while Mr. Rashbehari Bose died of disease. However, the brilliant and distinguished services rendered by Mr. Rashbehari Bose to his mother country will remain for ever in the histories of Japan and India.

Now that India has gained her Independence, I see before my eyes India's magnificent figure of independence.

I recall to my mind Mr. Rashbehari Bose's noble and patriotic deeds and services rendered throughout his whole life and now offer my most sincere prayers for his soul to rest in peace.

The Memory of Late Mr. Rash Behari Bose, The Leader and the Father of the Indian Revolutionary Movement

Mr. Zen-ichi Suzuki
Director, Shin-Nihon Kyogi-Kai, Tokyo

The late Mr. Rash Behari Bose was my English teacher since I was about 16 years of age and also he was the leader and the father of the Indian revolutionary movement.

•

When I was a student of "Kokuhikan" school at Setagaya, Tokyo, the late Mr. Rash Behari Bose was our teacher and after I graduated from the above school, I had continually received his kind advice and teaching up to the time of his death. It is sad that he died without seeing the accomplishment of Independence of his Fatherland—India.

Under the influence of his instructions and teachings, I am proud that I have been able to devote myself to the national movement of Asia and Japan for 35 years until today.

When I received English lessons from Mr. Bose, it was frequently I who was the only attendant at his lesson. Mr. Bose advised me to exert my utmost for the translation of Japanese into English than that of English into Japanese. He spent hours mostly for the translation of Japanese into English.

When the great earthquake in Tokyo districts took place on 12th year of Taisho (1923), there was shortage of food

in Tokyo and relief rice etc. had arrived in Shibaura from various parts of Japan by ships. It was my duty at that time to be in charge of carrying rice and potatoes by hand-cart from Shibaura to Kokushikan School at Setagaya at a distance of about $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles and deliver them to Mr. Bose's home at Sendagaya, near Shinjuku station.

Mrs. Toshiko, Mr. Bose's wife,—the eldest daughter of Mr. Aizo Soma, the master of Nakamura, Shinjuku, was at that time a young and gentle lady. I never forget the black pupils and lovely boyish faces in childhood of Mr. Masahide (the eldest son of Mr. Bose) and of Miss Tetsuko (the eldest daughter of Mr. Bose).

When I graduated from the above school, Mr. Bose established a dormitory named "Ajia-Go" (Centre of Asia) in the neighbourhood of Okubo for the purpose of looking after the new visitors from India.

At that time, Mr. Bishan Singh and Shamsheer Singh and 3 or 4 other Indian friends who were members of Indian Independence Party, called Gadar Party, came to Japan from America and visited Mr. Bose.

They lived at an apartment house called "Ebisu Club" at Ebisu, Tokyo. Mr. Bose ordered me to teach Japanese language to Mr. Shamsheer Singh, about 16 years old, and to others.

I met every day these Indians and taught them Japanese language and they all solemnly promised to co-operate with us to accomplish Indian Independence and also do their best for the revival of Asia.

I frequently met Mr. Bose at the residence of Mr. Mitsuru Toyama.

I clearly remember that 3 persons—Mr. Bose, Dr. Shumei Okawa and myself dined together at a restaurant in Tsukiji, and discussed with great heat amongst ourselves about the revival of Asia and Independence of India. The friendship between Mr. Bose and Dr. Okawa was so warm and strong that the outsiders were envious of it.

When Mr. Bose left Tokyo on lecture tours to different parts of Japan, he always requested me to take care of his house and the family. As there were only females left during his absence, I used to stay only at nights to guard them.

In his house, there were two sisters,—at present, Mrs. Niwa-ko Sasayama and Mrs. Shizue Watanabe who helped in household work and also did his office work. Besides his wife Mrs. Toshiko Bose, the two sisters were only assistants who rendered their best services in connection with his revolutionary movement. They had great regard for Mr. Bose and faithfully discharged official and household duties.

They were so much devoted to the family that after the expiry of Mrs. Bose they did their best to bring up his two children. Without their loving care the two kids could not have been brought up smoothly.

Many people, interested in the independence of India, came from abroad to consult and get advice from Mr. Bose.

A home-like atmosphere was created by the two sisters for these visitors, which was necessary to make them feel at ease and for fulfilment of the purpose of achieving co-ordination for the great work taken up by him.

I would mention here that although Mr. and Mrs. Rashbehari Bose and their son Masahide have passed away, their daughter (Mrs. Higuchi) is now living happily with her

husband and two children in a house put up on the same site at Sendagaya where Mr. Bose's house was destroyed during the war. The two sisters who helped Bose family are also enjoying happy lives.

When at the request of British Embassy in Japan, Mr. Bose was ordered to leave this country by the Japanese authorities, it was Mr. Mitsuru Toyama, Mr. R. Uchida and Mr. Y. Kuzuu and other friends who rendered their best assistance to protect him. They and Dr. Okhawa, one of the best friends in connection with the revolutionary movement have already passed away. Mr. Masa-atsu Tasuoka, president of Zengoku Shiya Kyokai and Mr. Tatsujiro Machida, president of the Kokusai Denwa Denshin Kaisha were also his good friends.

Frequently I gave lectures at the same stage along with Mr. Bose. At that time Mr. Bose delivered a fervent speech with tearful eyes, by which all Japanese audiences were charmed.

Several hundred thousands or several millions of Japanese people are well acquainted with the name of Rash Behari Bose and they feel sympathy for him.

Even now, many Japanese would call to their minds the name of Rash Behari Bose against the words of Indian Independence Movement.

It will not be too much to say that Mr. Rash Behari Bose is only one person among Indians, excepting Buddha, who gave to Japanese deep impressions and acquired the public sympathy.

When Mr. Bose returned from his tour to South Asia where he experienced great difficulties in forming Indian

Independent Army at Singapore, I visited him at his home together with my daughter, Miss Nobuko and took a photograph with him at that time which was the last memory of him. I remember that his body looked extremely thin at that time.

Mr. Bose rendered his best services to Indian Independence movement and at the same time did his best to render every assistance to the members of his party, by saving from his own living expenses.

He used to say and declare that his whole life was devoted to the independence of his Fatherland and he carried it into execution as he declared.

It was well known to all his Japanese acquaintances that his private life was one of simplicity and of purity and he concentrated his efforts to Indian Independence movements and also he rendered his best services to the members of the same party.

The two sisters mentioned above and who continued to look after Mr. Bose in his private life, have the best knowledge regarding this matter.

Mr. Bose had written for me that—"The truth is religion".

The fervent soul of Mr. Bose who understood the real Japan and Asia and his love for his Fatherland—India, would surely have a permanent influence over younger generation of Asia in future.

My Memories of Late Mr. Rash Behari Bose

**By Seizo Arisue
(Ex. Lieutenant General,
Ex. Chief of the Information Bureau,
Staff of the Japanese Ground Self-defence Force)**

I had been on duty with the former Japanese Army in Peking from the end of 1939 to the summer of 1942. General Hayao Tada was the Commander there at that time. He was a relative of late Mr. Some of Nakamura at Shinzuku, and thus told me Some was a patriot and an Indian revolutionist with great ambition and determination to achieve independence for India: and that he took refuge in Japan and had been continuously striving to realise the independence of his mother country.

In February 1943, I was promoted as Chief of the Second Department of the Imperial Head Quarters and then visited Singapore, where I met Mr. Bose for the first time. Indian independence movement was progressing steadily with Mr. Bose as the central figure and Singapore as its base. He was however much worried seeing the internal discords amongst the Indian Independence Volunteer Corps. Such being the case, there arose a proposal to invite late Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who was a refugee at that time in Germany, to come to the Far East, and consolidate and spur the Indian Independence Movement in conjunction with Mr. Rashbehari Bose who was exerting his best efforts to enlarge the activities of the Movement. Regarding this matter, Mr. Rashbehari called me to a special room and while partaking Indian rice-curry, requested me to make a speedy arrangement to bring Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Myself and



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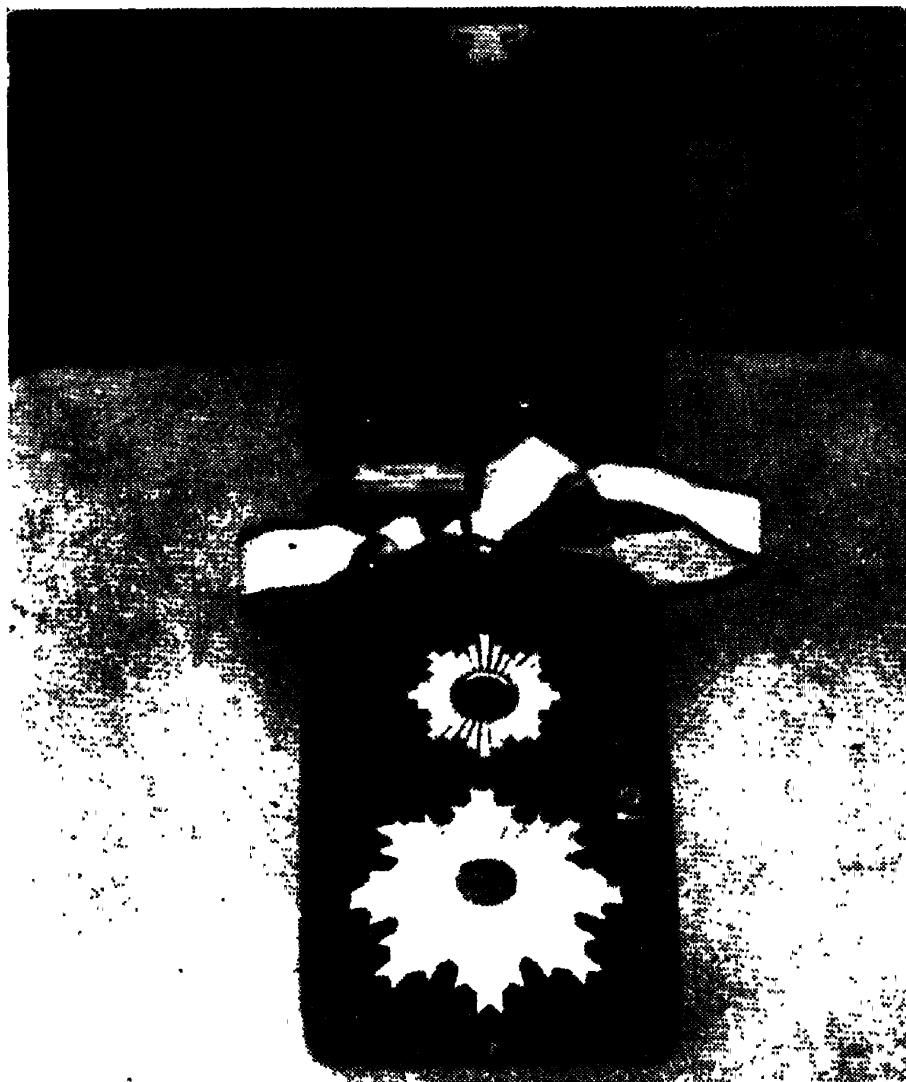
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The Second Order of the Merit (in Japanese).



The Second Order of the Merit of the Rising Sun.

my colleagues had no objection to comply with it, but we were much worried as to the seniority positions between the two Boses after the arrival of Mr. Chandra Bose. So I asked his frank opinion in the matter. In reply, he assured me that we should have no worry on this point, and that he would subordinate himself to Mr. Chandra Bose. This impressed me very much and I felt great respect towards him since I saw very plainly that he felt no hesitation to work under the other Bose ignoring himself, for the success of the Indian freedom movement. Further, I could clearly understand how much he was devoted to the independence of India.

Immediately on return to Tokyo, I hurriedly negotiated with the German authorities to bring Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to the Far East and to receive him in Japan. If I remember correctly, it was in autumn of 1943 that a small dinner party was held to receive Netaji at the Hoshigaoka Charyo (i.e., at a Japanese restaurant in Hoshigaoka). Besides Netaji, there were three others attending this dinner party viz. Mr. Rashbehari Bose, Marshal Sugiyama (Chief-of-Staff. Ground Self-Defence Force) and myself. During the dinner we conferred on various matters. When we were about to leave, the two Boses stood up and Netaji Bose put the overcoat on the shoulder of Mr. Rashbehari Bose (helped him to put on his overcoat). Having observed this scene, my imaginary fear and worry disappeared and I was indeed glad to find the real friendliness between the two great patriots of India and admired their noble minds.

As I remember it, in January 1945 the illness of late Mr. Rashbehari took a critical turn. Hearing of this, H.M. The Emperor decorated him with the Second Order-of-Merit of the Rising Sun, which I was directed to deliver him personally at the hospital. When I went, he was lying in bed in a serious condition. I handed over the Medals

of Merit to him, he could not lift his head but with a nod and tears in his eyes he expressed his great appreciation, deeply moved by the Imperial favour. With tears running down, he whispered into my ears very firmly,—“Thank you very much for your kindness, in the past. I particularly solicit your further co-operation with us to accomplish our nation’s independence”. This he did, grasping my hand firmly. I could not help feeling a great admiration towards him seeing his devotion to the cause of India’s independence. At the request of Mr. S. K. Mojumdar, I have written briefly my recollections of late Mr. Rash Behari Bose. I close this article thinking that his soul must be very happy to see that India has achieved full independence and is playing a distinguished role in the stage of the world today : and with prayer that his soul may rest in peace.

A Memory of the Late Rash Behari Bose

By Ex.-Colonel Hideo Jwakura

February, 1959.

It was an appropriate plan on the part of the Japanese Army that, when a Far Eastern War broke out during 1940, the General Staff Office of Japanese Army had determined their policy to render their best assistance towards the Indian Independence movements, because there were two purposes of the great war,—one of which was to expel the Western powers out of Asia and the other was to lead the oppressed nations in Asia so as to enable them to establish their independence respectively ; particularly it was most important to give an adequate help to India to realize her independence, which, we believed was worth while to facilitate the development of our strategical performances.

With this idea in view, the General Staff Office of Japanese Army had fixed plan to render every assistance to the Indian Independence movements, concentrating our power under the banner of Indian Independence movements in harmonious connections with about a million of Indian people, then living in our occupied area.

In this connection, a preparatory meeting was held at Sanno Hotel in Tokyo during March, 1942. In this meeting, Mr. Rash Behari Bose was elected as chairman. He was one who was a prominent patriot of Indian Independence, lived in Japan for long years and was very familiar with Japanese people.

As a matter of fact, it was very well known that he had devoted himself to the Indian Independence movement

since he was young and fled to Japan from India immediately after he dropped a bomb upon the British Governor General in India.

After he came to Japan, he was protected by the late Mr. Mitsuru Toyama and his Japanese friends, and he continued to live in Japan. He was worthy of the name of Indian patriot.

As a result of the above conference at Sanno Hotel, it was unanimously decided to form the Indian Independence League in accordance with the will of Indians, living in our occupied area in the South-East Asia and its formation ceremony was to be held at Bangkok during May 1942.

As it was well known, the formation ceremony of the League at Bangkok was held successfully on a magnificent scale.

The terms and conditions of the agreement for this League were discussed for 3 days by more than 200 representatives, assembled from various parts of Asia.

During the course of discussions, Mr. Bose had rendered his best services and led all the events as the sponsor of the meetings. He was appointed as a Chief-of-Executive Committees of the League by the assembled representatives.

Since then, as he was in an important post, he made his best efforts to lead the Indian Independence movements for about one year and half in the course of which he managed many difficult matters smoothly and clearly. I have vivid recollections of these scenes distinctly in my mind.

A big confusion occurred among the executive committee members of the League during Autumn of 1942 and

he worried and felt uneasiness about this case.

Messrs. Mohan Singh, Gill, and Gilany, were elected as committee members by Indian Independent Army; and others followed them blindly, such as Messrs. Goho and Menon; committees from Singapore were opposed to Mr. Bose, while only Mr. Raghavan, committee from Penang, approved of the position of Mr. Bose.

The real cause of this trouble was due to a dubious attitude assumed by Japanese army against Indian Independence League.

There were 63 items entered into agreement and concluded in the conference at Bangkok on May, 1942, for which the Japanese army gave a reply in summary, but not answered "article by article", as requested by the League. The summary reply caused a doubt among the committees of the League.

They entertained doubts whether Japanese army would make Indian Independence army a puppet of Japanese army, —that is to say—"cry up wine, and sell vinegar". As mentioned above, it was very clear that the troubles were caused neither owing to Mr. Bose nor his management.

I myself was at that time the Chief of Iwakura Special Detachment and desired sincerely to realize the Indian Independence, so that I was perplexed what to do. Mr. Bose was also placed in an awkward position just same as myself.

As the situation was serious it became quite impossible, in the present state of things, to accomplish the Independence of India, regardless of the cause of trouble.

Mr. Bose finally made up his mind to reform the system

(organization) of the League and requested my assistance to co-operate with him. As I had at that time no means better than that of Mr. Bose's proposal, after I had consulted with him thoroughly, the following emergency measures had been decided to execute at once :—

- (1) Indian Independent Army shall be disarmed.
- (2) The Commander of the army, Major General Mohan Singh shall also be dismissed and the executive committee be cancelled.
- (3) Lt. Col. Gilany and Menon & Goho who joined with Major Gen. Mohan Singh shall also be dismissed.
- (4) Major Gen. Mohan Singh and Lt. Col. Gil shall be confined until the situation became quiet.

The above emergency measures had been carried out in peace in the morning of 8th December, 1942.

Having waited for two months since the execution of this emergency measures till the storm blew over, the reorganization of Indian Independence League and Indian Independence army had been put in practice.

During the above two months, Mr. Bose and I made round tours of inspection of the disarmed Indian Independence Army's camps and delivered speeches and in the meantime tried to call out the Indian people in Singapore to create an atmosphere for reorganization of the Indian Independence League.

Our plan like this had gradually borne fruits and during the middle of February, 1943, Major Gen. Bhonsle was

newly appointed as the Commander of Indian Independent Army.

After that the following persons were elected as the Executive Committees of the League :—

Mr. Rash Behari Bose.

Mr. Raghavan.

Major Gen. Bhonsle.

Mr. Narayan Swami,—lawyer in Singapore.

Thus the foundation of the League and Indian Independence Army were at last established.

During these two months, we had great difficulties as above stated, particularly Mr. Bose was exhausted in mind and body, having fallen ill with a fit of his chronic disease—consumption.

His body seemed to have been conspicuously weakened. However, he whose whole life was devoted to the Independence of his fatherland, continued to reject our advice for taking necessary rest.

At that time, there gradually arose an atmosphere to invite Netaji Bose (who was taking refuge in Germany) to the Far East and appoint him as the leader of the Indian Independence League. In the meantime, Netaji was desirous to accept the above invitation.

Under such circumstances, I had consulted with Mr. Bose regarding the above matter and whether to appoint Netaji Bose as new chairman of executive committees of the League to which Mr. Rashbehari Bose agreed at once and told me to welcome him from the bottom of his heart, making additional remarks that Netaji was a re-

markable man of merits to the Indian Independence movement with noble character and extensive knowledge, never adding at that moment his private feeling.

Not only myself, but also all staffs of Iwakura Special Detachment were deeply moved by Mr. Rashbehari Bose's noble character.

Generally speaking, I can hardly believe whether there is a man like Mr. Rashbehari Bose who built up a great work despite many difficulties, and transferred unconditionally his work and position to another person.

Mr. Rashbehari Bose was a man of noble character by nature, but I believe that he owes much to the influence of Mr. Mitsudu Toyama, a typical patriot of Japan.

Mr. Rashbehari Bose was the grandest figure in the course of establishing the Indian Independence.

After he transferred his position to Netaji, he returned to Japan in a critical condition of illness, in order to recuperate his health in peace. However, it was a great regret that in spite of rest and treatments, he died without seeing the independence of his Fatherland.

I have a great respect for his noble character, particularly that he never thought of his own welfare and honour throughout his whole life.

It was deeply impressed on my mind that he devoted his whole life to the establishment of the Indian Independence.

He is really the greatest memory of our Asia.

· Reminiscence of Rash Behari Bose

By Tatusjiro Machida,
President, Kokusai Denshin Denwa Co., Ltd.

In 1913, there was in Kogao-cho, Azabu, Tokyo, a dormitory named the "Indian Club" where the Indian students studying in Japan were housed. Most of them were young men who were full of ardour for the emancipation and prosperity of India, their fatherland. I lived in the vicinity of the dormitory when I was a university student and happened to know Mr. V. D. Bakshi who was then an Indian student of the Tokyo Higher Technical School and lived here for a long time after graduation. He was a youth of rare nobility of character by which I was deeply impressed and accordingly I came into intimate relations with him.

Since then I have known many Indian students through his introduction and some of them were Mr. and Mrs. S. K. Mazumdar who settled down in Japan for about 45 years from that time to the present, and besides, I was introduced to Mr. Rash Behari Bose, Indian patriot, who then took refuge in Japan. Being deeply inspired by his personality, a warm friendship budded out between both of us and I enjoyed a close intimacy with him till the time when he passed away at his house in Onden, Harajiku, Tokyo.

Mr. Bose was never worried about things and was a man of open-heartedness and burning patriotic ardour. On the other hand, he was solemn and was very kind to his friends and was also very affectionate to his children, about which he was called a model among his friends. After the death of Mrs. Bose he devoted himself to the management of Nakamura's candy store and also lectures in universities and other

places. He was the best friend and leader of the Indian students in Japan and of Japanese young generations. Naturally he was very busy, but never forgot his cherished hope of Indian independence, which was indeed a source of our admiration. To pick up his warm affection toward his children, a boy and a girl who had been left behind Mrs. Bose were brought up by the hands of their grand-parents Mr. and Mrs. Soma. He made every effort to educate his children ; it was his custom to invite them to his house at Onden every Saturday in order to dine together ; the father and children threw off all restraint and talked quite freely with each other ; thus they had really a nice evening at week-end.

In January, 1945, I called on him at his house to inquire after his illness, but found his condition so critical that no one was allowed to see him according to the advice of the doctor. As I was going back, a loud voice calling my name was heard behind. I turned round and saw his daughter saying "he took notice of your voice and earnestly wishes to see you and call you back". I then moved to his bed-side slowly. He grew weak, but his eyes were brightened. He was already aware of Japan's defeat and showed me his anxiety about the future Japan, Asian problems, Indian problems, etc. His trembling and skinny hand shook mine and joined his hands to ask me for taking care of his daughter, Miss Tetsuko (now Mrs. Higuchi). This noble scene still remains vivid in my memory.

The independence of India has now been attained and the country is going on to prosper day by day. I cannot help recollecting the great patriot Bose who devoted himself to the independence of his fatherland and died in Japan.

Mr. R. B. Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose

By Syn Higuti

(Ex-Attache to the Ambassador of Japan in Berlin)

I have read Mr. Rash Behari Bose's "Cry of India" in Berlin, in the spring of 1941. I was so moved that I read it many a time, and I have been encouraged by Mr. Bose's spirit till the end of the War.

At that time Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose appeared in Berlin and began his attack against the British Government. In the autumn of 1941 he came to see the ambassador and expressed his resolution. In the end of the year, he came to see Mr. Ohsima, the Ambassador, and required facilities to go to Tokyo. Telegrams were sent to Tokyo, but the G.H.Q. of Tokyo was not much interested. Replies were always very cold :

"In Tokyo here is a big Indian revolutionary, Mr. Rash Behari Bose. Why to invite another from Berlin under these bad circumstances."

February, 1942, Singapore was captured. The request of Mr. Chandra Bose became more and more fervent. He came almost every week. Each time I received him before he met Mr. Ohsima. I talked to him about Behari Bose though I did not know Mr. Behari Bose personally. I am still ashamed of it. But Mr. Chandra Bose listened to me and said :

"I don't know him. But the fact that he is fighting for the independence of India in Tokyo for so many years is

very encouraging. I shall be happy if I can fight as a soldier under Mr. Behari Bose, as it is good for the Independence of India. In conclusion, you must send me as soon as possible to Tokyo."

Meanwhile the G.H.Q. changed their tone in saying, "If you can send him safely if you have some way and can guarantee his safety as he is very important, you can send him."

It was in January 1943 that it was fixed to send Mr. Chandra Bose by a German submarine after direct negotiations with Hitler. Mr. Chandra Bose was very much pleased. It was in the middle of Feb. 1943, that we arranged a lunch for Mr. Chandra Bose with a few intimate German friends, the Bishop Fuesin of Syria, Mr. Gailain, ex-Premier of Iraq, the Ambassador of Afghanistan and me. We were twelve in all. But except Mr. Bose his assistant Nambiar and me, no one knew what Chandra Bose was going to do.

Mr. Chandra Bose talked :—"There are some important revolutionaries in Wien (Viena). As we must fortify our movement at all cost, I should like to go to Wien (Viena) tomorrow : I shall be absent from Berlin for a month."

After the party, I and Mr. Chandra Bose talked for an hour in secret. He said :

"My trip will not be very pleasant. But I am sure I will arrive there safely. I should like to go with our friends and Indian Division (some 3,000 Indian soldier prisoners re-educated). But we have no way to transport them. I go as a representative of their desire for Independence. If I were lost on the way, please transfer my will to Mr. Behari Bose and my last wishes for his success. After my departure, Mr. Nambiar will be in charge of all our movement. You

must make him enter into contact with Mr. Behari Bose for the continuation of our movement."

"Mr. Yamamoto is waiting for you somewhere in Asia. You may be welcomed by him, I am sure."

In fact, Mr. Chandra Bose arrived safe after 3 months.

In January, 1945, when the death of Mr. Behari Bose was informed to German Government, Mr. Kepler, the adviser of the Government was sent to Mr. Nambiar, already appointed as the Chief of Legation of the Provisional Government of Free India for deep condolence.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was a gentleman very polite and kind but his fighting spirit was flaring up here and there. But he was quite a stranger in Japan knowing nothing about Japanese mentality. Rash Behari Bose was well acquainted with the Japanese people and beloved of all who knew him. How deeply he was acquainted with the Japanese! I can imagine what difficulties he managed between I and the Japanese Government. The fact that he could unify all Indians outside India is a proof that he was a great man.

Independence cannot be established without zigzag course and many difficulties. But I appreciate most lightly the kind help of a simple Japanese family through so many political difficulties and financially, the Soma. We must not forget this family in establishing closer ties between the New India and Japan in future for world peace.

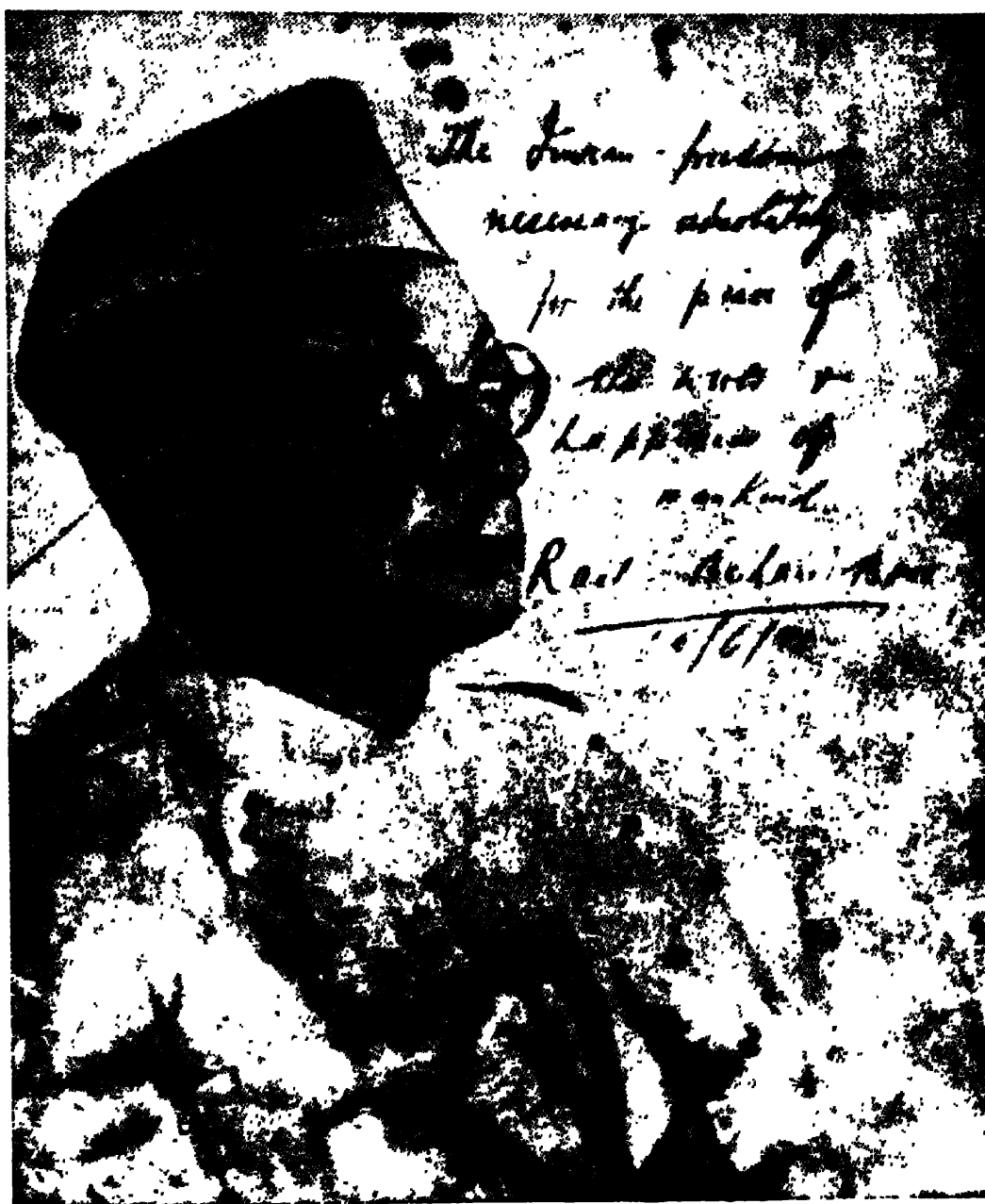
A Big Fighter, I Saw

By Yamamoto, ex-Chief of Hikari organ

I met Mr. R. B. Bose for the first time in Singapore, in April, 1943. I met a big man. As I was in charge of "Hikari" that was in close contact with the I.N.A., I met him everyday. First I thought him very tired. But it was my mistake. The more I saw him, the younger he was. I saw a big fighter for the independence of his fatherland in him.

Mr. Rash Behari Bose could speak Japanese in its spirit. There are very few Japanese who could speak it like him.

I flew to Sumatra to welcome Mr. Chandra Bose, another big Indian. His arrival was greatly delayed. After 3 months of his departure from Germany, he was to arrive in Sumatra on the 1st or 2nd of May! But he arrived only May 8th, 1943 at Sumatra and on May 16th in Tokyo.



The Indian freedom
movement absolutely
for the price of
the lives &
happiness of
mankind.
Rash Behari Basu
10/6/19

Sri Rash Behari Basu

SPEECHES, BROADCASTS AND STATEMENTS

Presidential Address at Bangkok Conference

Presidential Address by Rash Behari Bose at the Indian Independence Conference held at Bangkok (Thailand) on 15th June 1942:—

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, FRIENDS AND COMPATRIOTS,

Allow me to express my sincere thanks for the great honour you have done me by calling upon me to occupy this chair and guide the deliberations of this historic conference. While greatly appreciating this expression of love and affection for me, I am not unaware of the fact that along with this honour you have placed on my shoulders a great responsibility by electing me the president of this Conference. However, if I have obeyed your command and taken this chair in spite of my knowledge of the intricacies of the problems that will come before this conference, I have been prompted to do so by my great faith in your spirit of co-operation and your sincere desire to put your heads together and to come to useful decisions without wasting much of your time on unnecessary discussions and arguments. I am sure I can count upon your unreserved help and co-operation in successfully conducting the business of the conference.

As I stand here my thought goes to the unfortunate air accident, last March, that claimed the lives of our four valuable comrades—Swami Satyanand Puri and Gyan Pritam Singhji of Bangkok, and Captain Akram and Mr. Nilkanth Ayer of Malaya, while they were flying to Tokyo to attend our Indian Independence Conference.

We can well realise the great loss to our cause at such an

The Bangkok Times

INDIAN GOES HOW TO REGAIN INDEPENDENCE K. S. THAI PREMIER WELCOMES CONFERENCE

"That And Indians Are Deeply Bound
Together In Cultural Ties"

AND MINISTERS OFFER CONGRATULATIONS

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The Bangkok Times, in its issue of today, carries a special report from New Delhi, India, regarding the recent visit of the Indian Minister to Thailand, Mr. K. S. Thakur. The report states that the Indian Minister was warmly welcomed by the Thai Premier, Mr. P. P. Pong-pon, and that the two leaders discussed the deep cultural ties between the two nations. The Indian Minister also presented a letter of congratulations to the Thai Government on the occasion of the recent Indian Independence Day. The report further mentions that the Indian Minister will be staying in Bangkok for several days, during which he will hold discussions with various Thai officials. The Bangkok Times also carries a large photograph of the Indian Minister and the Thai Premier together, and another photograph of the Indian Minister with other officials. The report concludes by stating that the visit of the Indian Minister is a significant event in the history of Indo-Thai relations.

important period of our struggle and we all feel it very deeply. However, brethren, let us take it as inevitable and pray for the peace of their souls. In our grim final struggle against British Imperialism, we shall have to offer great sacrifices. Many of us will have to lay down our lives before the world can see India free. It can be well said that these four comrades have given us the lead of which our compatriots in Thailand and Malaya can be well proud of.

During and since 1857, when we first revolted against British Imperialism in India, hundreds of thousands of our most respected and beloved compatriots have laid down their lives in their efforts to free our Motherland. We cannot forget the fact that they have nourished the seeds of *Swaraj* with their blood, and it is the result of their supreme sacrifices that we are to-day so near our goal and can hope with confidence to achieve Independence in the near future. World knows only a part of the long list of those Indian victims of British Imperialism. Let us pay respects to the memory of those numberless known and unknown comrades. Placed as we are today, we can do very little beyond that. But the time is fast approaching when in every city and town in India we shall find a worthy monument erected in their memory and we Indians will pay our homage to them and look upon them with pride.

Our homage is also due to those respected leaders and workers as well as the organisations that have in various ways made untiring efforts since 1857 to liberate our country from bondage. Their list is in no way small and in no way their contributions were negligible. Let us pay our respects to that greatest living Indian, Mahatma Gandhi, who with his magic hand, roused the Indian masses from the centuries long slumber and has created self-confidence in them. We can have no doubt that when the new and true history of India will be written Mahatma Gandhi's name will have to be mentioned as the saviour of India.

The Bangkok Times

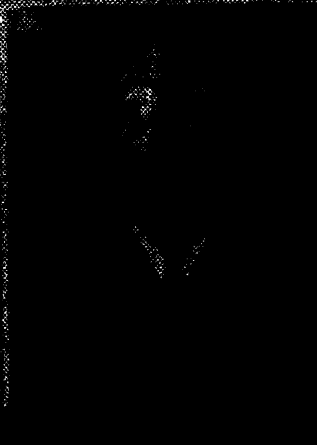
Published daily except on Sundays and public holidays

INDIAN SUPPLEMENT

MR. RASH BEHARI BOSE, PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL OF ACTION, MEETS THE PRESS

GOODWILL OF JAPAN AND THAILAND STRESSED

WE FEEL CONFIDENT THAT THE FUTURE
OF OUR MOTHERLAND IS ASSURED



I do not want to take your time by going into the details regarding India's struggle for freedom since 1857. Suffice it to say that although the failure of our revolt of 1857 was a great blow to the nation and although a general depression had overwhelmed the country, our efforts to overthrow British rule never ceased. Under the circumstances prevailing in those days, the activities had to be carried on underground and within a limited scope ; and, whenever, there was an opportunity, a revolt was attempted. After minor preparatory stages our first effort on a large scale was made when the war of 1914-1918 started. Our workers were active everywhere. The Indian army was prepared to join the revolt. A part of the Indian army had actually revolted rather prematurely. We thought we were going to succeed. Unfortunately we did not meet with success on that occasion. Thousands were sent to Andamans and Mandalay and hundreds of them still remain rotting in prisons and concentration camps.

During that war of 1914-18 the British have been partially successful in receiving India's co-operation by telling lies and making false promises. Our people were misled by the fine phraseologies of the shrewd British diplomats. They promised us freedom after the war, as they are doing even during the present war. But soon after the conclusion of that war it was realised that the British not only did not mean to keep their promises but definitely wanted to take away even that shadow of civil liberty that the Indians were having in pre-war days. When they protested against that the response from the British side was in terms of bombs, bullets and machine-guns. Needless to mention that the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh of Amritsar in April 1919 is still fresh in the memory of every one of us and the wound has not yet healed. It really cannot be healed until and unless we have completely destroyed the power that was responsible for that great humiliation of our people.

More Victims Expected
The world today is full of victims. The victims of the great war, the victims of the great depression, the victims of the great famine, the victims of the great pestilence, the victims of the great earthquake, the victims of the great flood, the victims of the great fire, the victims of the great storm, the victims of the great drought, the victims of the great cold, the victims of the great heat, the victims of the great wind, the victims of the great rain, the victims of the great sun, the victims of the great moon, the victims of the great stars, the victims of the great planets, the victims of the great galaxies, the victims of the great universe.

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New Embassy Plans

The new embassy, planned by the architect, is to be built on the site of the old one, which was destroyed by fire. The new building is to be a masterpiece of modern architecture, with a central tower and four wings. It is to be built of steel and concrete, and will be the largest building in the city. The architect has also planned a new wing for the embassy, which will be built on the site of the old one. The new wing is to be a masterpiece of modern architecture, with a central tower and four wings. It is to be built of steel and concrete, and will be the largest building in the city.

The Conference

The conference, which was held in the city, was a success. The delegates from all over the world were in good agreement. They agreed to a plan for the future of the world, and to a plan for the future of the city. The plan for the future of the world was to be a plan for peace and cooperation. The plan for the future of the city was to be a plan for progress and prosperity. The conference was a success, and the delegates were in good agreement.

Business Aided

The business of the city is being aided by the government. The government is giving the business a subsidy, which will help it to pay its bills. The business is also being aided by the government in other ways. The government is giving the business a loan, which will help it to pay its bills. The business is also being aided by the government in other ways. The government is giving the business a loan, which will help it to pay its bills.

The Object of The Conference

The object of the conference was to bring the delegates from all over the world together. The delegates were to discuss the future of the world, and to agree on a plan for the future of the world. The conference was a success, and the delegates were in good agreement. They agreed to a plan for the future of the world, and to a plan for the future of the city.

The Participants

The participants in the conference were the delegates from all over the world. They were the delegates from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and many other countries. They were all in good agreement, and they agreed to a plan for the future of the world, and to a plan for the future of the city.

Is a New Administration

Is a new administration, planned by the architect, is to be built on the site of the old one, which was destroyed by fire. The new building is to be a masterpiece of modern architecture, with a central tower and four wings. It is to be built of steel and concrete, and will be the largest building in the city. The architect has also planned a new wing for the embassy, which will be built on the site of the old one. The new wing is to be a masterpiece of modern architecture, with a central tower and four wings. It is to be built of steel and concrete, and will be the largest building in the city.

The Means Of Deception

The means of deception, which was used by the architect, was a masterpiece of modern architecture. The architect used a central tower and four wings to deceive the eye. The architect used a central tower and four wings to deceive the eye. The architect used a central tower and four wings to deceive the eye. The architect used a central tower and four wings to deceive the eye.

Qualified American

The qualified American, who was in the city, was a success. The qualified American was in good agreement with the delegates from all over the world. They agreed to a plan for the future of the world, and to a plan for the future of the city. The qualified American was in good agreement with the delegates from all over the world.

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A GROUP OF INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE



The group of influential people, including Mr. Bone, standing together.

MR. BONE VISITS DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER



Mr. Bone visiting the Deputy Foreign Minister.

GIVES INTERVIEW TO THE NEWSPAPER



Mr. Bone giving an interview to the newspaper.

Mr. Bone, who was in the city, was a success. Mr. Bone was in good agreement with the delegates from all over the world. They agreed to a plan for the future of the world, and to a plan for the future of the city. Mr. Bone was in good agreement with the delegates from all over the world.

Every tragedy, however, has a lesson and so had the tragedy of Jallianwalla Bagh. The blood of more than a thousand of those innocent martyrs, that included even our women and children, could not go without significant results. The great upheaval that swept India from one corner to the other, and the great movement of Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience that has been carried on by the Indian National Congress since 1919 and that has wonderfully organised the masses of India for political struggle, were undoubtedly the direct result of the massacres at Jallianwalla Bagh.

We all must bow our heads in reverence and be grateful to these brothers and sisters who by giving their lives at Jallianwalla Bagh have created a new life in India. As we know today, millions and millions in India are prepared and determined to suffer and sacrifice their all for the cause of their Motherland. When in 1939 the war in Europe started, Britain once again began to indulge in jugglery of words in order to secure Indian co-operation and help. But to the great delight of us all, to this very day the nationalist leaders in India have refused to be misled and have continued to resist all British efforts to drag India into war. Our respect goes to Mahatma Gandhi for the most admirable way he has led the nation clear of all dangers of being entangled in this war.

With this background in India, the Greater East Asia War was declared on the 8th of December 1941. No matter in which part of the world he or she might be living, whatever might be his or her attitude towards Japan, I refuse to believe that there was a true Indian patriot who was not extremely delighted and gratified in his heart of hearts when the great news of the declaration of War by Japan against the Anglo-Saxon races reached his or her ears. I refuse to believe there is any true Indian patriot, whatever be his or her career or conviction, who might not have rejoiced, as from day to day, the mighty Imperial forces of Japan on

land and sea and in the air went on administering crushing blows against their imperialism in Asia, and the British Imperialist bases in these parts began to totter one after the other like houses of cards. For is there a man whose eyes can withhold joyous tears, when he sees before his eyes, the power of the greatest enemy of humanity and peace, the greatest aggressor of centuries, being destroyed? Those of us who were destined to live and work in Japan had particular reasons to be overjoyed at this most welcome happening.

We have been working in Japan for decades so that we can see Japan in a position to stand by the oppressed Asiatics and to liberate Asia. We were anxiously awaiting the day when Japan would fully realise the great significance of creating a free and united Asia and would feel convinced that it was in the interests of Japan herself, as also for the rest of Asia, if not for the world as a whole, that the octopus grip of the Anglo-Saxon Imperialism in the East must be destroyed root and branch. We all were fully convinced that Japan alone was in the position to take the honour. Thus when on the morning of that most auspicious day, the day of Enlightenment of Lord Buddha, we heard the most auspicious news of Japan's declaration of War against our common enemy, we felt convinced that our mission in Japan was fulfilled. We felt convinced that India's freedom was assured. Being in Japan for decades, I knew well that Japan is not in the habit of talking and debating unnecessary and meaningless things. I knew well that she was not in the habit of taking any serious step unless she had fully weighed her strength and was convinced of her success. I therefore did not share the views of those who thought that, due to her continued military activities in China, she was too exhausted to challenge the mighty Anglo-Saxon, or the so-called ABCD combined forces. I was one of those who had not the slightest doubt that the war in China was prelude to

the real war against powers who were actually responsible for the continued fratricidal conflict between China and Japan. Happenings on the international chess-board during the past more than ten years have been suggesting that such a world-wide conflict was inevitable. It was also apparent that the question of Indian freedom could be successfully solved only when Japan rose in arms against British Imperialism.

Now that Japan and Thailand have taken up arms against our common foe the joint efforts of our worthy allies ensures the doom of the British Empire and our complete victory is assured.

These effective efforts on different fronts to destroy our common enemy bring us a reminder regarding our own duties and responsibilities in this common effort for our common cause. We must ask ourselves what we have done and what we are going to do to contribute to this great cause. Only praising Japan, Germany and Italy will not entitle us to the position for which we are craving. We must contribute our mite and must make the greatest sacrifice we can do. Then alone can we command the respect and consideration of our worthy allies and then alone we can claim a place worthy of a great nation like ours in future international assembly.

Realising this very important fact, and our duty towards our Motherland at this most important juncture, we in Tokyo promptly met on the 8th of December 1941 at the Rainbow Grill and decided upon a programme of action. My compatriots formed a committee and asked me to lead the movement and I gladly agreed to abide by their decision. We at first undertook to consolidate Indian opinion in East Asia in favour of a definite fight from without. Meetings were held in different centres of Japan and resolutions were passed emphasising the solidarity of our compatriots, the great need of declaring Independence of India

by destroying British Imperialism, and expressing confidence in our work.

On the 26th December 1941, for the first time in the history of Indians in Japan, a Conference of nearly fifty representatives of the Indian residents in Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama and Tokyo—all the four cities where Indians reside—was held at the Railway Hotel at Tokyo to consider the problems. A Resolution was passed calling upon the Indians to realise the gravity of the situation and the danger ahead of India. The resolution read as follows :—

“WHEREAS the continued defeat of the British and their allies in Europe and Africa has sealed the fate of the British imperialism in Europe :

WHEREAS the most decisive destruction of British sea and land forces by Japan in the East has given a death-blow to the power and prestige of British imperialism in Asia :

WHEREAS the war is fast approaching the shores and borders of India, the British stronghold, Axis Powers may be obliged to invade India in order to destroy the main source of British fighting strength ;

WHEREAS such an invasion will bring unimaginable and extreme hardships, miseries and sufferings to millions of innocent and helpless Indians in cities, towns and villages : and

WHEREAS the only way to avoid this most unhappy situation is to declare complete independence of India from British rule and to cut off all possible connections with British imperialism in every possible way immediately;

THE INDIAN NATIONALS RESIDING IN JAPAN ASSEMBLED IN THIS CONFERENCE MOST SERIOUSLY AND EARNESTLY APPEAL TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE OF INDIA TO IMMEDIATELY DECLARE INDEPENDENCE AND TO CAPTURE ALL POWER FROM THE BRITISH IN INDIA. AND TO TAKE IMMEDIATE EFFECTIVE STEPS TO STOP EACH AND EVERY SOURCE OF INDIAN AID TO BRITISH IMPERIALIST WAR. AND TO DECLARE ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE THAT INDIA HAS NO DESIRE WHATSOEVER TO BE INVOLVED IN THIS CONFLICT AND HAS NEVER BEEN WILLING TO HELP BRITAIN.

Our representatives were sent to Shanghai and on 26th of January this year a huge gathering of the Indian residents of Shanghai was held in Young Men's Association hall when similar resolutions as passed in Tokyo were very enthusiastically passed and our movement was given unanimous support.

In the meantime we established contact with the military and civil high commands in Japan and began to impress upon them the necessity of helping India in her struggle for freedom for the very achievement of the great object for which Japan has declared war against Britain and America. We made it clear to them that so long as British Imperialism in India continues Japan cannot expect a final victory in this war. At last we succeeded in prevailing upon them and General Tojo, the Prime Minister of Japan, openly declared before the Imperial Diet that his Government was prepared to help the Indians in our efforts to free our country from the long bondage. In his declaration before the Imperial Diet after the fall of Singapore, he said :—

“It is a golden opportunity for India, having, as it does, several thousand years of history and splendid cultural tradi-

tion, to rid herself of the ruthless despotism of Britain and participate in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan expects that India will restore its proper status of India for the Indians and will not stint herself in extending assistance to the patriotic efforts of the Indians. Should India fail to awaken to her mission forgetting her history and tradition, and continue as before to be beguiled by the British cajolery and manipulation and act at their beck and call, I cannot but fear that an opportunity for the renaissance of the Indian people would be forever lost."

The declaration offered us great encouragement and we felt convinced that India can safely hope to be free before the East Asia War comes to an end. Counting upon the promises of General Tojo, we established our headquarters at Sanno Hotel and started our activities and preparations in right earnest. We decided that a Conference of the representatives of Indian organisations in various parts of East Asia should be held for exchanging views regarding our future move. With the help of the military authorities things were conveniently arranged and the representatives of our compatriots residing in Malaya, Hongkong and Shanghai along with those of Tokyo, sat in conference for three days and framed the preliminary constitutions for the working and progress of our movement. Those friends from abroad who participated in Tokyo Conference had occasions to come in contact with responsible members of the Japanese Army in Tokyo and to know more and more about the standing of our movement. Discussions at the Tokyo Conference were varied and we did our best to lay down a solid foundation upon which we could base our plan of action in future. We all know that the Conference in Tokyo was held at a time when things were less settled than they are today. Friends from East Indies were not present. We were deprived of the valuable help and advice of our friends in Thailand due to the unfortunate accident. Burma and

Andamans were still in the hands of our enemies. We, therefore, were unable to come to a decision that could be claimed to be representative of the views of our compatriots in East Asia as a whole. We, therefore, decided to hold a large and more representative Conference at a later date when the decisions taken at Tokyo were to be ratified. This Assembly in which we are participating today is the result of that decision.

The responsibility to convene this Conference was placed upon my shoulders and I was asked to hold it in this city. I am sorry that the Conference was delayed by a couple of weeks. We expected to arrive here earlier but due to the extraordinary period through which we are passing, things could not be always done as expected and we have to adjust ourselves according to circumstances.

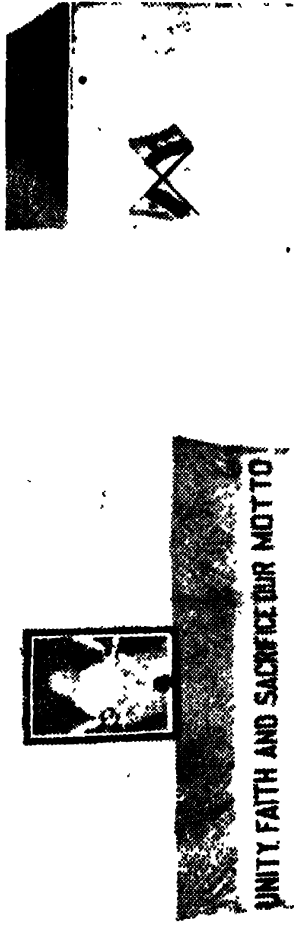
I know I have exhausted your patience by chronologizing the events and activities during the last more than six months. But, it was necessary to acquaint you with what has happened and how we have proceeded before we sit down to business and work far-reaching decisions.

Friends, we all realise the gravity of the situation and also the fact that we are passing through the most important period of India's history. I don't want to waste time on long speeches. We had enough of that during the last more than five decades. We really cannot afford to waste our time on meaningless talks and arguments. Those who want to really serve the Motherland cannot have much time to talk. If we go on talking without coming to any concrete decision, time will not wait for us and we shall be left only to shed tears at our past folly, and it will be too late to mend things. I know there are knotty problems that will come before you for discussions and will need your most careful consideration. I know you will have to do a lot of thinking and face a lot of doubts from within before you can decide.

But, if you have come with a grim determination to thrash out a positive, concrete, and actually useful plan you will be able to come to quick decisions. Let us all fully realise our responsibilities towards our land of birth and let us realise well that our down-trodden country cannot afford to lose this golden opportunity that comes only once in centuries. Our brothers and sisters have in hundreds of thousands laid down their lives and have suffered and sacrificed for more than a century so that our country may be once again free. Let us rise to the occasion and carry their efforts to success so that the souls of martyrs in Heaven may find peace and be pleased. Let us rise and act so that the great preparations that Mahatma Gandhi has made during the last more than two decades may bear fruit and our children in future may think of us with pride and respect as the members of a free nation.

I know many of you have come with doubts and suspicions regarding the ultimate fate of our country as the result of our activities. I assure you that I can well appreciate your feelings of uncertainty and your desire for security and yet I believe they are based on false promises. Having bitterest experiences of Imperialist exploitations for centuries, we have begun to doubt even our good friends and if we insist on this attitude the world will go on and we shall be left behind to regret our indecision.

I want to sound a note of warning here. Our enemies have always been successful in keeping us divided and creating false impressions in our minds on such occasions. On many occasions in the past we have missed opportunities to free our country, by being victims of lying British propaganda. I can only hope that we shall not repeat our folly. Our doubts and suspicions are to a great extent the results of shrewd and well-thought plans of our enemies to sabotage our efforts. Those



ऐं प्रगौर जों हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर
निकल जाओ.

Shri Rash Behari Basu addressing Indian Independence League and I. N. A. members at Bangkok.

of us who have intelligence enough and who are not blind to facts and happenings can see the way clearly.

We should feel thankful to the Governments of Japan, Germany, Thailand and Italy for their most friendly attitude they have been showing towards our cause. We must be particularly thankful to Japan for the most encouraging and hopeful definite promise of help in our sacred cause. Let us not forget the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he said :—

“SUCCESS OFTEN COMES TO THOSE
WHO DARE AND ACT ;
IT SELDOM GOES TO COWARDS.”

I make an earnest appeal to you all friends to see that when you conclude your session you have a most practical and workable plan of action for India's freedom so that we can start our work right after the Conference and march ahead. We are fortunate enough to have the most valuable help of our Indian Army at our disposal. They deserve our great respect for the great service they have already rendered to our cause by refusing to serve the enemies of India. But their greater service is still awaiting our decision. No one can doubt the bravery of our soldiers in a righteous fight for a righteous cause. Our sympathy goes to the families and friends of those Indian soldiers who had, erroneously believing that they have been fighting for a right cause, lost their lives in Europe and Asia. They have been misled by the same propaganda of lies by Britain that is responsible for the unfounded suspicion in the minds of so many of us. I bow my head to the bravery of our soldiers and we should have no doubt that with their wholehearted support we are going to win our final fight against British Imperialism. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder and let us march hand in hand to success. Let us remember we have one indivisible nation, INDIA—One enemy, England,—One Goal, Complete Independence.

BANGKOK RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at the Bangkok Conference :—

1. WHEREAS it is objective of the war of Greater East Asia to destroy British Imperialism in Asia ; and

WHEREAS it gives an opportunity for India to realise the goal of complete independence ; and

WHEREAS it is the belief of this Conference that a new regenerated Asia of Free Nations is certain to arise as a result of this said war ;

This Conference expresses its sincere gratification at the war policy of Japan and conveys to the Imperial Government its best wishes for the continued success of the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces.

2. This Conference conveys to all the powers fighting against British Imperialism its sincere congratulations and prays that their efforts may meet with complete success.

3. This Conference places on record its sense of deep admiration for the most determined manner in which the Nationalist Leaders at home have been trying to refuse to be drawn into this war on the side of the British and their Allies, and for the frank and definite demand for the withdrawal of the British from India. In the opinion of this Conference, unless the British withdraw from India and the Allied Forces cease to make use of India as a base for war operations, unimaginable and innumerable sufferings will be the lot of the people of India.

4. Resolved that a Movement for achieving complete and immediate independence of India be sponsored by this Conference.

OBJECT

5. This Conference endorses the view of the Tokyo Conference held in March 1942 that the complete Indepen-

dence of India free from any foreign control, domination or interference of whatever nature shall be the object of this Movement, and is emphatically of opinion that the time has arrived to take necessary steps for the attainment of that object.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

6. Resolved that the Indian Independence Movement sponsored by this Conference shall be guided by the principles indicated below :

- (a) That UNITY, FAITH, SACRIFICE, shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movement.
- (b) That India be considered as One, and indivisible.
- (c) That all activities of this Movement be on a national basis, and not on a sectional communal or religious basis.
- (d) That in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress is the only political organisation which could claim to represent the real interests of the people of India, and as such to be acknowledged the only body representing India, this Conference is of the opinion that the programme and plan of action of this Movement must be so guided, controlled and directed as to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress.
- (e) That the framing of the future constitution of India be only by the representatives of the people of India.
- (f) That a joint Axis policy favourable towards India will be advantageous to India.
- (g) That the sympathy, co-operation and support of Japan is invaluable in securing the object of this Movement, namely the Independence of India.

7. Resolved that an organisation be started for carrying on the Indian Independence Movement and that it shall be known as the Indian Independence League.

8. Resolved that the Indian Independence League shall immediately proceed to raise an Army called the Indian National Army from among the Indian soldiers (combatants and non-combatants) and such civilians as may hereafter be recruited for military service in the cause of Indian Independence.

CONSTITUTION

9. This Conference adopts the following Constitution for the Indian Independence League organisation :

- (i) The Indian Independence League shall consist of :
 - (a) A Council of Action
 - (b) A Committee of Representatives
 - (c) Territorial Branches, and
 - (d) Local Branches.
- (ii) (a) Local branches of the Indian Independence League may be formed only at a public meeting of Indians in any locality who shall elect a Committee and a President.
- (b) Vacancy of such Committee or in the Office of the President may be filled up by the Committee.
- (c) All Indians above the age of eighteen shall be entitled to be members of such Branch on compliance with the rules of the Branch.
- (d) No such Branch shall be recognised as a Branch unless the Territorial Committee as constituted hereinafter accords and continues to accord to such Branch due recognition, provided however that all Branches of the Indian Independence League now in existence and recognised in the various territories men-

tioned in article (vi) hereof shall until otherwise decided upon be recognised by this Movement.

- (iii) Representatives elected by the Committee of Local Branches in each territory shall form a Territorial Committee, and the Territorial Committee shall make such rules as it may consider necessary for the effective working of the Movement within the territory.
- (iv) The Territorial Committee in each territory shall guide, supervise and control the work of the Movement within its territory and shall also elect representatives as constituted hereinafter.
- (v) Territorial Committees and Committees of Local Branches under them shall have power to make rules not inconsistent with the rules by the Committee of Representatives or in case of Local Branches by the Territorial Committees.
- (vi) (a) A Committee of Representatives shall be constituted by civilian representatives elected by the Territorial Committees in the territories herein below set out and by representatives selected by the Indian National Army :

APPENDIX I

Japan and Manchuko	..	..	4
Philippines	..	..	2
Thailand	..	..	6
Malaya	..	..	14
Burma	..	..	21
Borneo and Celebes	..	..	1 •
Hongkong, Canton and Macao	..	..	2
Other parts of China, including Shanghai	..	..	2
Indo-China	..	..	1
Java	..	..	2

Sumatra	..	..	..	1
Andamans	..	..	..	1
				<hr/>
				57
Indian National Army	..		..	33
				<hr/>
				90

- (b) The Council of Action shall be at liberty to include in the above list of territories and other territory and fix the number of representatives from such territory to the Committee of Representative,s providing in that event for increase in the representatives from the Indian National Army, equal to two-thirds of the number fixed for such territory.
- (vii) Evtry member of the Committee of Representatives shall sign the Oath of Secrecy in the prescribed form before he takes his seat on the Committee.
- (viii) The Committte of Representatives shall be responsible for the general policy and programme of the Intian Independence Movement and its decision shall in every case be final and binding on each and every member of this movement.
- (ix) The Committee of Representatives shall have power to alter amend or rescind any previous decisions made by it, including any decision arrived at in this Confertnce.
- (x) No meeting of the Committee of Representatives shall be valid unless two-thirds in number of the Members of the Committee are present (either in person or by proxy).
- (xi) A Council of Action consisting of a President and and four (4) members, of whom at least one half shall be from the Indian National Army in East

Asia, shall be appointed by the delegates to this Conference. The first President shall be Sjt. RASH BEHARI BOSE and the four members shall be :

1. Si N. Raghavan
2. Captain Mohan Singh
3. Sri K. P. K. Menon
4. Colonel G. Q. Gilani.

- (xii) Any vacancy in the Council of Action caused by death, resignation or otherwise of Members not exceeding two in number at a time, may be filled up by the other Members of the Council, and in the event of more than two such vacancies the Council of Action shall call a meeting of the Committee of Representatives to fill such vacancies.
- (xiii) The Council of Action shall be responsible for the carrying out of the policy and programme of work laid down by the Committee of Representatives and shall deal with all new matters that may arise from time to time and which may not be provided for by the Committee itself.
- (xiv) For the proper and efficient carrying out of the work the Council of Action shall have power to create as many depts., as are necessary and to appoint and dismiss administrative officers and staff whenever necessary.
- (xv) The Council of Action shall have no power to alter or amend the Policy laid down by this Conference without the sanction of the Committee of Representatives.
- (xvi) This Council of Action may at any time summon a meeting of the Committee of Representatives to be held at such places as the Council may decide provided that necessary facilities for travel to representatives and at least 14 days' notice of such meeting have been given to the Secretaries of the Territorial Committees and to the Headquarters of the Indian

National Army. On a requisition by twenty members (Representatives) hailing from more than one territory, such meeting shall be called by the Council of Action and the necessary notices and facilities for travel shall be given.

- (xvii) The Council of Action shall have general superintendence and control over all Branches of the Indian Independence League in all territories mentioned in article (vi) and over the Indian National Army.
- (xviii) The Council of Action shall cause to be kept a register of all the territorial and local organisations and may remove therefrom the names of any such organisations and withhold or withdraw recognition of any such organisation.
- (xix) The Council of Action shall have collective responsibility.
- (xx) The allotment of Portfolios shall be amongst the Members of the Council of Action and at the discretion of the President.
- (xxi) The Headquarters of the Movement shall be at Bangkok or such other place as may hereafter be decided upon by the Committee of Representatives or the Council of Action.
- (xxii) The deliberations of the Committee of Representatives and the Council of Action shall be privileged and no action of a disciplinary character can be taken against any member in consequence thereof by any Branch or Territorial Committee or by the Indian National Army.
- (xxiii) Changes in the Constitution of the Indian Independence League may be made only by vote to that effect by three-fourths of the Members of the Committee of Representatives.

10. Resolved that a request be made to the Nippon Government that it may be pleased to place immediately all

Indian soldiers in territories in East Asia under their control at the disposal of this Movement.

11. Resolved that the formation, command, control and organisation of the Indian National Army be in the hands of Indian themselves.

12. Resolved that it is the earnest desire of this Conference that the Indian National Army from its inception be accorded the powers and status of a free National Army of an Independent India, on a footing of equality with the armies of Japan and other friendly powers.

13. Resolved that the Indian National Army shall be made use of only :

- (a) For operations against the British or other foreign powers in India.
- (b) For the purpose of securing and safeguarding Indian National Independence, and
- (c) For such other purpose as may assist the achievement of the object, viz : the Independence of India.

14. Resolved that all officers and men of the proposed Indian National Army shall be members of the Indian Independence League and shall owe allegiance to the League.

15. Resolved that the Indian National Army shall be under the direct control of the Council of Action and that the said Army shall be organised and commanded by the General Officer Commanding, Indian National Army, in accordance with the directions of the Council of Action.

16. Resolved that in the event of military action being taken against the British or other foreign powers in India, and for the said purpose the Council of Action may be at liberty to place the military resources available to it, under the unified command of Indian and Japanese Military Officers under the direction of the said Council of Action.

17. Resolved that before taking any military action against the British or any other foreign power in India, the Council of Action will assure itself that such action is in con-

formity with the express or implied wishes of the Indian National Congress.

18. Resolved that the Council of Action shall make all efforts to create an atmosphere in India which would lead to a revolution in the Indian Army there, and among the Indian people, and that before taking military action the Council of Action shall assure itself that such an atmosphere exists in India.

19. In view of the great urgency and imperative necessity of informing and convincing our countrymen in India and abroad, and friends of India all over the world, of the meaning and purpose of this movement, and in view of the fact that propaganda in and outside India is one of the most effective means of waging the war for Indian Independence, this Conference resolves to take immediate steps to carry on active and vigorous propaganda by Broadcasts, Leaflets, Lectures and by such other means as may be found possible and practicable from time to time.

20. That all foreign assistance of whatever nature shall be only to the extent and of the type asked for by the Council of Action.

21. Resolved that for the purpose of financing the Independence Movement the Council of Action be authorised to raise funds from Indians in East Asia.

22. The Conference places on record its grateful appreciation of the support and encouragement given to this Movement by the Imperial Government of Japan, and resolves that the Council of Action be authorised to approach if and when necessary the said Government with a request to render such monetary help as may be required from time to time for the successful carrying out of the object of this Movement, on the distinct understanding that such monetary help is to be treated as a loan repayable to the Imperial Government of Japan by the National Government of India.

23. Resolved that the Imperial Government of Japan be requested to be good enough to provide all facilities for

Propaganda, Travel, Transport and Communications within the area under the control of the Imperial Government of Japan, in the manner and to the extent requested by the Council of Action, and also all facilities to come into contact with the National leaders, workers and organisations in India.

• 24. Resolved that the Imperial Government of Japan be requested to be good enough to arrange with the local authorities concerned that in matters of administration affecting the Indian Community, the Indian Independence League in the respective places, and in places where there are no branches of the League, recognised leaders of the community approved by the League Branch nearest to such places, be consulted.

25. Resolved that the Government of Thailand be requested to be good enough to consult the Indian Independence League (formerly known as the Indian National Council and the Independence League of India) in matters of administration affecting the Indian community in Thailand.

26. The Conference, while recording its grateful appreciation of the various pronouncements made by General Tojo, the Premier of Japan, expressing the preparedness of the Nipponese Government to give its unstinted support to the cause of Indian Independence, reiterates the Resolution of the Tokyo Conference that in further clarification of the attitude of Japan towards India, the Imperial Government be good enough to make a formal declaration to the effect :

- (a) That immediately on the severance of India from the British Empire, the Imperial Government of Japan shall respect the territorial integrity and recognise the full sovereignty of India free from any foreign influence, control or interference of a political, military or economic nature.
- (b) That the Imperial Government of Japan will exercise its influence with other powers and induce them to recognise the National independence and absolute sovereignty of India.

- (c) That the framing of the future Constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India without interference from any foreign authority.

27. Resolved that this Conference is committed to a definite policy of close co-operation with Japan, and it shall, on eliciting an official definition satisfactory to this Movement of the term 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' and its implications, endeavour to persuade Independent India :

- (a) To be a member of such Sphere or a member of any other international combine of which Japan is a member, on a footing of equality with Japan ; and
(b) To confer on Japan the most favoured-nation treatment on a reciprocal basis.

28. WHEREAS it has come to the knowledge of this Conference that Indians in the territories which are now freed from the domination of the Anglo-Saxons and their Allies by the Imperial Forces of Japan own considerable movable and immovable properties in these territories ; and

WHEREAS owing to the exigencies of war a number of Indians had to leave these territories, leaving behind their properties without making arrangements for their care and management ; and

WHEREAS the Imperial Government of Japan has promised its unstinted support to the cause of Indian Independence ; and

WHEREAS an enormous amount of money is required to carry on and complete the object of the said movement in East Asia ; and

WHEREAS an appreciable steady income is likely to be derived from the said properties in the said territories ; and

WHEREAS in the opinion of the Conference, the handing over of such properties to the Indian Independence League by the authorities concerned, on the distinct understand-

ing that the said properties are to be returned to their rightful owners when claimed, will be welcomed as a sign of goodwill and encouragement towards this Movement.

NOW THIS CONFERENCE RESOLVES :

That the Imperial Government of Japan may be pleased to arrange with the authorities in the territories now freed from the domination of the Anglo-Saxons and their Allies by the Imperial Forces of Japan, to hand over the properties owned by the Indians (including those owned by Indian Companies, firms and partnerships) and left by them owing to the exigencies of war, to the Council of Action in this Movement in trust for their rightful owners to manage and control the said properties and advance the income thereof for the use of this Movement, to be repaid as and when claimed by the said owners.

29. This Conference having learned with regret that Indians residing in certain countries under the occupation of the Imperial Forces of Japan are being treated as enemy aliens, and suffering hardship and loss in consequence, resolves that the Imperial Government of Japan may be pleased to make a declaration to the effect :

- (1) That Indians residing in the territories occupied by the Imperial Forces of Japan shall not be considered enemy nationals as long as they do not indulge in any action injurious to this movement or hostile to the interest of Japan, and
- (2) That the properties both movable and immovable of those Indians who are now residing in India or elsewhere (including the properties of Indian companies, firms and partnerships) be not treated by Japan as enemy properties so long as the management or control of such properties is vested in any

person or persons residing in Japan or in any of the countries occupied by or under the influence or control of the Imperial Japanese forces, and to instruct the authorities concerned in the respective territories to give effect to this policy as early as possible.

30. That this Movement adopts the present National Flag of India and requests the Imperial Government of Japan and the Royal Government of Thailand and the Governments of all other friendly powers to recognise the said Flag in all territories under their jurisdiction.

31. This Conference requests Sjt. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE to be kind enough to come to East Asia, and appeals to the Imperial Government of Japan to use its good offices to obtain the necessary permission and conveniences from the Government of Germany to enable Sjt. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE to reach East Asia safe.

32. That no unauthorised publicity be given to any of the Resolutions adopted at this Conference, but a manifesto be issued by this Conference setting out the purpose and policy of this Movement, and incorporating such decisions and details as may be found proper and beneficial to be made public.

33. This Conference places on record its deepest appreciation of and grateful thanks for the co-operation, assistance and support extended to this Movement and its objective by the Imperial Government of Japan.

34. This Conference gratefully acknowledges the sincere and friendly attitude the Governments and the peoples of Germany and Italy have adopted towards our struggle for freedom, and places on record its deep appreciation and thanks for the offer of assistance and co-operation extended by them to this Movement.

35. This Conference places on record its grateful thanks

to the Government and people of Thailand for the opportunity given to hold this Conference at Bangkok, for their kind hospitality, and for their sympathy and co-operation in India's struggle for freedom.

RASH BEHARI BOSE

President

Indian Independence League

30th June, 1942

The Battle is on

PREFACE

The statement and the two broadcast addresses reproduced below were made by Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action, Indian Independence League, following the meeting of the All-India Congress Working Committee at Bombay and consequent arrests of the Indian leaders and the brutal treatment meted out to the Indian people by the British troops and police :—

INDIA'S ENEMIES HOPE FOR MISCARRIAGE OF PLANS

Commenting on the Indian crisis, Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action, Indian Independence League in East Asia, issued the following statement, on Sunday, August 9th, 1942 :—

The world's eyes were focussed on Bombay. India's friends as well as enemies, each for different reasons, anxiously awaited the decision of the All-India Congress Committee. Now the historic decision has been taken. India has declared war on Britain.

The real representatives of India, the members of the All-India Congress Committee, have ratified the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. This decision means that the Indian people do not want Britain to remain in India.

Japan declared war on Britain and America on the eighth day of December. I see the hand of God in the unique coincidence that India too declared war on Britain on the same eighth day, at the completion of the eighth month of the Greater East Asia War.

India's enemies may still hope that Mahatma Gandhi's plan



Rash Behari Basu shaking hands with Maj. General Shah Nawaz Khan while Shree Basu was on an inspection of I. N. A. officers.



Rash Behari Basu, President of the Council of Action, I. I. L. & I. N. A. with General Mohan Singh—inspecting the Army.

of campaign would miscarry. On the contrary, India's true friends hope and pray that this last struggle for our national independence would be crowned with success. British apologists like the London Times patronisingly suggest that the present crisis is a test of Indian statesmanship.

The British have amply demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of their own statesmanship ; therefore, it hardly lies in their mouth to prattle about the test of Indian statesmanship. Mahatma Gandhi knows what he wants ; he knows also how to get it.

Yes, without a doubt, Mahatmaji will demonstrate to Britain and to the world not only his statesmanship but also his generalship of the national forces in this last fight for India's independence.

INDIA'S VICTORY CERTAIN

For my part, I do not entertain the least doubt regarding India's victory in her war against British imperialism. The coaxing and flattery which British politicians and the press, showered on Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress till a few days ago left them cold.

So also, all the abuses and the blood-curdling threats of the past few days have proved equally futile. Today, India is already seeing the mailed fist of desperate Britain. The Viceroy has already begun to make use of his ruthless powers as Dictator of India.

This is meant to strike terror into the hearts of the masses and to cow them down even before the Civil Disobedience Movement is launched. But this time, Britain is mistaken. And she will realise her tragic error before long.

I say once again that nothing on earth can save Britain in India. She may use her own troops or she may employ the American army of occupation in India to crush the Congress whose only crime is the demand for freedom for which Britain and America profess to fight.

Perhaps, they may, by sheer brute force, overwhelm the national forces for a time. But that cannot save them either. There are other and mightier forces outside of India's borders, standing ready to pounce on the Anglo-American forces in India and to annihilate them without the slightest mercy.

I would like to assure my compatriots at home, and to warn Britain and America, that this is not an empty boast. I leave it to Britain and America to do all the bragging they want to.

SUBTLE SUGGESTION

A typical example of this British boastfulness is contained in the frequent *communiqués* reporting the achievements of British and American bombers operating from Indian bases over Akyab and Chindwin Valley.

The subtle suggestion is that in spite of the damage inflicted by Anglo-American bombers on Japanese military targets, the Japanese are powerless to retaliate by bombing Indian cities.

British hypocrisy has thus set up another record.

It is quite true that the Japanese have not yet avenged themselves for the bombing of Akyab, Chindwin and other military centres. But even the British dare not openly claim that the Japanese have not the men, the machines or the bombs with which to smash every one of the bases from which the Anglo-American bombers take off.

Japanese supremacy in the air was the one excuse which the British put forward, with monotonous regularity, to explain away their successive military disasters all over East Asia. If anything, the same Japanese air supremacy is growing daily. Any moment, the Japanese Air Force in Burma could put in a couple of hours' work and blow up Anglo-American bases in India.

My compatriots in India will remember the bombing of

Colombo, Madras, Vizaghapatam and Coconada. That was nearly four months ago and the British were helpless. Since then, the Japanese have not been idle. As Japanese spokesmen have repeatedly emphasised, they are any day prepared to take on the British and Americans in India.

WHY JAPAN WAITS

But they are holding back. Why? Not because they are afraid of the British or Americans, nor because they intend to show any mercy to their good-will and consideration for India. They do not wish to cause any harm to Indians, if they can possibly avoid it.

I would beg of my compatriots in India to understand and appreciate this truth. This is Japan's sincerest demonstration of her reluctance to do anything that might injure the India of Indians.

But the so-called British India which has been turned into an Anglo-American arsenal is a standing provocation to Japan. Let us clearly understand that Japan is at war with Britain and America. Japan can, and will, beat the Anglo-American forces wherever she finds them in Asia. And as long as Anglo-American armies of occupation are tolerated in India, nothing that we Indians say or do can possibly dissuade Japan from sweeping these forces out of India.

This is the stark reality of the situation. The British and Americans know it. But they are determined to invite the horrors of war into India. They want Japan to attack India and then they hope that India could be made a willing participant in their imperialistic war.

Nevertheless, they are doomed but there is no reason why India should share their fate. India's interests are in direct conflict with those of Britain and America. India must save herself by her own effort and she has decided to save herself.

I would beg of my countrymen in India once again to bear in mind two vital factors. And they are : Japan could any

hour of the day turn the whole of India into a bloody battlefield—a battle from which she will easily emerge victorious. Japan has not attacked India till this moment only because of her genuine anxiety not to injure India if she can avoid it.

ISSUE IS CLEAR

The issue is clear. We Indians do not want to compel Japan to invade India and to invite national disaster. We want to oust the British tyrants and to regain our freedom. India has made her choice. And I, for my part, have very good reasons to assure Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, most solemnly and sincerely, that as soon as India is freed of British domination and becomes a sovereign state of the Indians, Japan will extend recognition to India as a sovereign state and respect India's territorial integrity.

With all the earnestness I can command, I therefore appeal to my compatriots in India to march under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in this, probably the last and greatest, fight for India's freedom. Now that the Nation has pronounced its verdict in unmistakable terms, any Indian opposing Mahatmaji and the Congress programme is an enemy of India.

Any Indian still supporting the British, directly or indirectly, is a traitor to the country. Those who are not with India now, are against India, and must be treated as India's enemies. Once again, I appeal to my countrymen in India to plunge themselves wholeheartedly into this last battle for India's liberation.

As I was concluding this statement, I received news of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and twenty other prominent Congress leaders. I am not in the least shocked or surprised. The battle has begun in dead earnest. The British have unleashed their reign of frightfulness. India must wade

through blood before she reaches her goal of national independence. But this time India is prepared for any sacrifice and she will win.

ADDRESSES INDIAN NATION

Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action, Indian Independence League in East Asia, broadcasting from Thailand on Sunday, the 9th August, 1942, addressed the Indian nation as follows:—

Compatriots at Home :

You have declared war on Britain. And the British have drawn first blood. Already, our revered leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and many other front-rank men of the National Congress have been spirited away from your midst. I am overwhelmed with emotion.

These arrests of our great leaders are only the beginning. Britain is at bay. She will not hesitate to resort to the most frightful measures to crush your spirit. The British will force a bloodbath on you ; but I know that you are ready to go through it.

The arrest and imprisonment of thousands upon thousands of Congressmen all over the country has probably started. The British-paid *goondas*, police and troops, may any moment be let loose on you. You will soon be passing a fiery ordeal of suffering and sacrifice. I do not know how many thousands of you, my brothers and sisters, will be assaulted by policemen or shot down by enemy troops in occupation of our country.

The British know that if they lose this battle against India's national forces, Britain is lost in India, in Asia, in Europe, in the whole world. She will go down, never to

rise again, for centuries to come. The British will therefore launch the most ruthless campaign of repression. They hope to strike terror into your hearts and to cow you down.

DO NOT LOSE HEART

Friends, do not lose heart for a moment. Stand up to Britain as one man. Perhaps, by sheer brute force, the British tyrants and their accomplices may overwhelm you for a time.

But remember you are not fighting alone. Remember that formidable forces are gathering outside of India's borders to support you. They are ready to pounce on Anglo-American forces in India and to annihilate them without the slightest mercy. You will remember what I told you only a few days ago.

Tens of thousands of India's brave sons who took the sword under British compulsion, have now placed that very sword at the service of our Motherland. They are waiting for the word of command from you.

Britain depends upon brute force to crush you ; let me warn the British and their allies in India that we are prepared to answer their brute force with superior brute force. Let me warn Britain once again that this time she cannot escape. She will realise her tragic error before long.

I do not believe in empty boasts. Britain will soon discover this to her cost. I am keeping a ceaseless vigil on events in my dear Motherland. I will not rest for a moment until India wins this last crusade for national independence. Not only thousands of soldiers of the Indian National Army, but also the two million Indians in East Asia have dedicated all their possessions and their lives to India's cause.

They have taken a solemn oath to help you to crush the British in India or to be crushed themselves. They are convinced beyond doubt that this time it is Britain that will be crushed.

NOT FIGHTING ALONE

Friends, let me assure you once again that you are not fighting alone. You have also the fullest sympathy and support of the mighty Axis Powers whose armed forces are nightmare to Britain. The mere fact that we Indians have the moral support of these great Powers in our fight against Britain is a source of inspiration to us to fight on until victory is ours.

You have lately been hearing so much of the British and American military prowess in India. They have been repeatedly boasting of the achievements of Anglo-American bombers operating from Indian bases. You have been hearing of the damage done by these bombers to Japanese military targets in Akvab, Chindwin valley and other places in Burma. The British have even suggested that the Japanese are powerless to retaliate by bombing Indian cities.

JAPANESE SUPREMACY

Friends, you will remember that Japanese supremacy in the air was the one excuse the British put forward to explain away their never-ending military disasters all over East Asia. Believe me when I say that any moment the Japanese air force in Burma could put in a couple of hours' work and blow up Anglo-American bases in India.

But the Japanese are holding back, not because they are afraid of the British and Americans nor because they intend to show them any mercy. They are holding back only because of their good-will and consideration for India. They do not wish to cause any harm to Indians if they could possibly avoid it. I would beg of my compatriots in India to understand and appreciate this truth.

At the same time, let us bear in mind that Japan is at war with Britain and America. The Japanese can, and will, beat the Anglo-American forces wherever they find them in

Asia. And as long as Anglo-American armies of occupation remain in India, nothing will dissuade Japan from sweeping the forces out of our country.

The British and Americans know it. But they are determined to invite horrors of war into India. And that is the only reason why they refuse to quit. Nevertheless, they are doomed and India has rightly decided not to share their fate.

Let me tell you once again that, any hour of the day, Japan could turn India into a bloody battlefield—a battle from which she will easily emerge victorious. But Japan has not attacked India till this moment only because of her genuine anxiety not to injure India if she can avoid it.

A WISE DECISION

India has wisely decided that she will have nothing to do with Britain's unholy war. On the contrary, India herself has declared war on Britain and has launched the battle for independence. I have no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi has drawn up detailed plans to carry on this war against Britain.

Every one of you, my compatriots, has an important role in this fight. The fate of our glorious Motherland is at stake. Our national independence must be wrested from the British tyrants. Our national honour must be vindicated. We must fight this battle to a finish and we must win.

In this unequal combat into which we are plunged, our enemies, the British, possess the deadliest of modern weapons. But you India's millions have been trained by Mahatma Gandhi in the use of weapons which can be equally effective. And the time has now come for you to use those weapons.

Let every factory worker, man, woman or child, refuse to turn out arms and munitions for the British. Let every transport worker refuse to handle war materials for Britain.

Let every Indian soldier follow the illustrious example of his comrades who refused to fight for the British in Malaya, Burma, Libya and Egypt. Let the Indian soldiers get ready to join hands with the Indian National Army, when the time comes to meet British brute force with a similar weapon.

Let my civilian millions in India organise a country-wide social boycott against every Britisher and American. In this boycott, even the humble barbers, washermen, cooks, domestic servants, and even the scavengers, can play a decisive part. Let the whole of India rise to a man in the cause of our sacred Motherland at this fateful hour.

Before I conclude, I wish to sound a note of warning. India is now at war with Britain. Any Indian opposing Mahatma Gandhi and the National Congress is an enemy of India. Any Indian still supporting the British, directly or indirectly, is a traitor to his country. Those who are not with India now, are against India and will be treated as India's enemies.

Once again, I appeal to my countrymen in India to plunge themselves wholeheartedly into this last and greatest battle for India's freedom.

Friends, the greatest moment in our history has come. By the grace of God all the odds are in our favour, and against our enemy. Almighty God has willed that India must be freed. And India will be free. Long Live India.

Bande Mataram

Second Broadcast

Mr. Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action, India Independence League in East Asia, broadcasting from Thailand, on Friday, the 14th August, 1942, addressed the Indian nation as follow :—

Brothers and Sisters in the Now Unhappy Land of my Birth !

You are at this moment engaged in a life-and-death struggle against British imperialism. British troops and police, armed with deadly weapons, have been let loose on you, my unarmed countrymen. The British are battering your skulls and shooting you down indiscriminately all over the country. My heart bleeds for you.

I hope and trust that my voice will pierce the infernal din of the British gunfire, and reach your ears.

With breathless anxiety, the whole world looks on the awe-inspiring spectacle of an unarmed nation waging its war of independence against a heavily-armed, ruthless oppressor. Naturally, the world's sympathy is on your side. Britain's reign of terror in India has evoked strong feelings of indignation and disgust in the hearts of right-thinking people all over the world.

CENSORSHIP OPERATES

The British censorship has seen to it that, neither you in India, nor we outside, shall know all that is happening now in our unhappy land. From what little the British have allowed the world to know, it is clear that you men, women and children all over India are making tremendous sacrifices on the alter of India's freedom.

You are engaged in an unequal combat, and sacrifices are inevitable if you are to gain independence. Let us re-

member that no country in the world achieved its independence without fighting and without sacrifice. I recall Mahatma Gandhi's words that a million lives lost in India's cause is not too high a price to pay, if the remaining three hundred and ninety-nine millions could be freed from British domination.

Bear in mind Mahatmaji's words and keep up the fight. As sure as day follows night, victory will be yours at the end of this fiery ordeal. Do not doubt for a moment whether aid will come to you in time.

We Indians in East Asia are spending sleepless nights, following your fortunes in this war, and preparing to throw ourselves into the battle. This war of independence, is a total war, and you must stake your all, and your lives, in the struggle. You must fight with the will to win ; and you must fight to the finish.

WORLD WATCHES

Friends, the world is watching India's epic war of independence. In the eyes of the world, you are on trial. You have to prove that you deserve independence ; and you can prove it only by your unlimited capacity for sacrifice and suffering.

As Mahatmaji has repeatedly told you, independence cannot drop as a gift from skies ; it has to be fought for with all your strength, and won. The world will support you only if you carry on the struggle relentlessly.

Already, your war of independence has stirred the imagination of many friendly nations. As I told you once before, I have good reasons to assure you that Japan will extend immediate recognition to India as a sovereign state, the moment you rid yourselves of British rule.

Only a few hours ago, the Government of Thailand, which has been rendering considerable help to the Indian Independence Movement, officially declared its readiness to recognise the independent Government of India, immediately

after the elimination of British influence. And I may assure you also that similar recognition of Indian India will be forthcoming promptly from the other great Axis Powers and their Allies.

AT CROSS-ROADS TO DESTINY

Friends, thus you will clearly see for yourselves that India is now at the cross-roads of her destiny. Our future as a great and free nation is assured for all time if you win this war of independence. But, if, for any reason, you fail, you are doomed for centuries to come.

The British know this truth as well as you do. I have no doubt, therefore, that British will employ all her wiles and guiles to lure you into a truce and a patched-up peace. It is a fatal trap that the British will set for you.

Their Indian henchmen will be sent around the country, shouting 'peace, peace'. They will tell you that, if only you will give up the struggle, Britain would readily give you Independence. We know that Britain herself will make direct peace overtures to you, to wean you away from the struggle.

Friends, I beg of you to beware of this death-trap. If, in spite of my warning, you unfortunately fall into it, then India has no hope of salvation. The life-work of Mahatma Gandhi and a host of other illustrious sons of India before him, will be undone at one stroke.

Any semblance of independence that Britain might offer you in her perilous plight will not be worth having. The price of that so-called independence will be India's active participation in the war on Britain's side. That day, Japanese invasion of India is certain.

APPEAL TO COUNTRY

At this critical stage of India's War of Independence, I

appeal to the entire country, to the millions of my brothers and sisters in India, regardless of caste and creed, to make a supreme effort for a speedy victory.

I appeal to Mr. Jinnah again to throw the weight of his influence on the side of the national cause. The fight for freedom from foreign yoke is the most urgent task of every Indian, be he a Hindu, Moslem or Sikh. As long as Britain dominates India, even the Pakistan that Mr. Jinnah wants will not be worth having.

Mr. Jinnah has only to look at Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and other Moslem countries to realise this truism. And the world will not be convinced that Indian Moslems are qualified even for Pakistan, unless they fight for the independence of the whole of Hindustan from foreign rule.

I appeal to Indian soldiers in India to remember the first War of Independence fought on Indian soil in 1857, which the British of course call the Sepoy Mutiny. I ask the Indian soldiers to remember the Garhwalis who paid with their lives when they revolted against British tyranny.

I call upon Indian soldiers to follow the shining example of their comrades in Malay, Hongkong, Burma, and, only two days ago, in Egypt. At last they have an opportunity to fight for their own country's liberation. I call upon them to rise in revolt and yield their sword to free their Motherland.

I appeal to the Indian Police and Indian Officials of the Government to wake up to the firm fact that their Motherland is in travail. She stands in sore need of selfless service of every one of her sons. I appeal to all Indian Officials to throw up jobs and follow the lead of the Congress.

To the Indian Princes, titled men and others, who have ranged themselves on the side of India's enemy, I must sound a note of warning. In this war of independence, India is destined to be the victor. The British will be swept out of India sooner than they expect. When that day comes, Inde-

pendent India will not forgive those of her sons who betrayed her at the most crucial moment.

I appeal to the youth of India to rise throughout the country and play a decisive part in winning this battle for freedom.

A WORD OF ADVICE

Friends, may I offer you a word of advice at this historic stage of your fight against Britain? Your plan of action must not be confined to the destructive side only.

Of course, you must paralyse transports, communications and armament industries which help the British war effort in India; you must close schools, colleges and universities to release the youth of India for active service in the independence war; you must persuade Indian soldiers, Indian police and Indian officials, to resign from Britain's service; you must boycott British goods, British Courts and British Government Offices; you must totally refuse to have any private, social or commercial relations with Englishmen; and last, but not least, you must organize non-payment of any kind of taxes, cesses or levies as the climax of your determined action.

Side by side with this destructive campaign, you must create also a constructive machinery; you must form a peace maintenance corps throughout the land; you must arrange for relief to the poor and needy people; you must establish systems of private transportation and communication; you must revive also our old Panchayat Courts for the arbitration of private disputes.

Now is the time to lay the solid foundations of our National Structure in our villages. Every village must be made a self-contained unit, so that the nationwide struggle may be carried on with unrelenting vigour.

Friends, you are engaged in action that will decide India's fate. I, too, believe in action. I am waiting for the moment

when I need speak no more, but have only to act. Keep up your fight ; your brothers abroad will be by your side before long ; and shoulder to shoulder, we shall march to victory.

Bande Mataram

Bose's Striking Appeal to East-Asia Indians

Text of Rash Behari Bose's message on 26th January, 1943 :—

India stands at the threshold of complete Independence Day today—the anniversary of the historic day when the Indian Nation proclaimed its grim resolve to sever all connection with Britain.

On January 26th, 1930, the Indian Nation unfurled the banner of Anti-British revolution, and declared from a thousand platforms all over the country that there could be no compromise between Indian nationalism and British imperialism. On that epoch-making day, India's millions took the solemn oath to sacrifice their all in the fight for the overthrow of British tyranny and the achievement of India's complete independence.

Since that day, thousands of India's sons and daughters have sacrificed their all, and their very lives, in the fulfilment of that solemn pledge to liberate their Motherland ; and more thousands all over India are at this very moment emulating the noble example of those martyrs in the cause of India's complete independence. The sacred memory of their martyrdom will be enshrined in the hearts of India's millions for all time to come.

Today, as Indians all over the world observe the Independence Day Anniversary, India's grim battle against British Imperialism has reached its climax. The last round of India's battle against Britain is being fought ; and already

the British enemy is fighting with his back to the wall. British authority in India has collapsed ; British war efforts in India are paralysed ; and British bases of aggression in India are being blown to bits. The day of Britain's doom in India is fast approaching. And no power on earth can avert this doom of the British Empire in India.

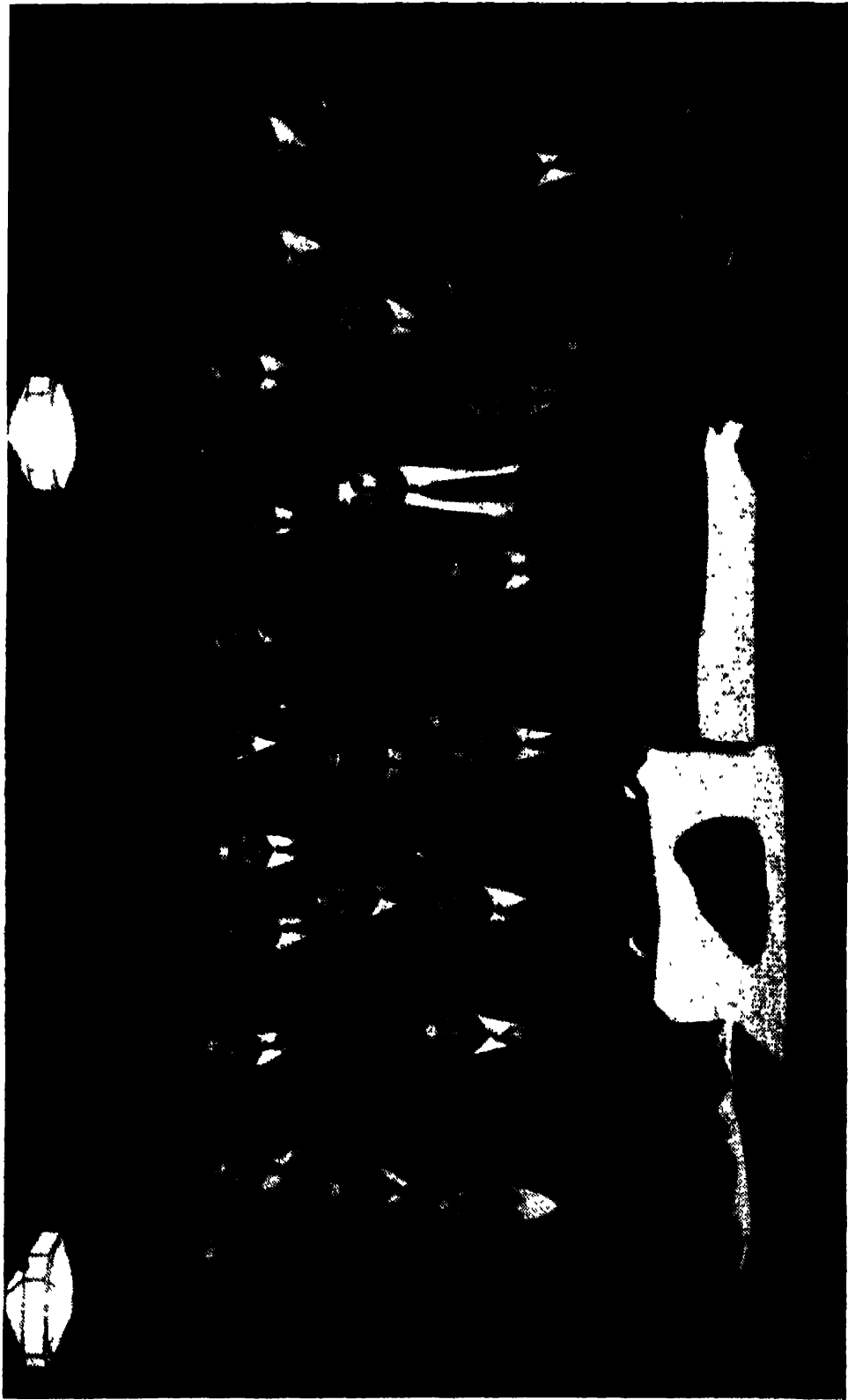
Thus, this anniversary of the Indian Independence Day which we observe today, is unique in the annals of India's struggle for freedom.- For the first time now, the Indian Nation does not stand alone in its fight against the British ; and for the first time, India's British enemy is staggering under the crushing blows delivered by Japan in her holy war against Anglo-American imperialism in Asia. The mighty Japanese nation, in its crusade for Asiatic emancipation, has pledged all-out aid to India in her fight against the common enemy, Britain. And, already the invincible Japanese Forces have begun the destruction of the Anglo-American strongholds in India.

Today, India's victory in her battle against Britain is a certainty. It is all the more so, because the Indian Nation has the solid support of the powerful Japanese Nation. Caught between two fires—the countrywide revolution in India and the determined Japanese forces beyond India's borders—the British power will soon be wiped off the fair face of India.

It is with this confidence in the certainty of India's triumph in her battle for complete independence, that Indians at home and abroad observe the Independence Day today. It is for this confidence that the goal of India's valiant struggle is now within sight...it is this confidence that distinguishes today's celebration from previous anniversaries of the Indian Independence Day.

And on this auspicious occasion, my message to my two million compatriots in East Asia is :

Millions of our brothers and sisters in India are undergoing untold sufferings and sacrifices in the cause of our sacred



Independence Day celebration meeting at Tokyo on the 26th January 1939. Shri Rash Behari Basu is seen at the centre (front line).

Motherland's complete independence from the British yoke. We Indians in East Asia must play our part in supplementing the heroic efforts of our countrymen at home. Our revered leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, and thousands of other Indian patriots are held captives by the British in India. The great masses of India, though deprived of their leaders, are waging a relentless war against the British in India. And the day is not far off when we Indians in East Asia will also be called upon to plunge ourselves into the sacred fight for the freedom of our Motherland. On this auspicious day, I appeal to you, my countrymen in East Asia, to hold yourselves in readiness to sacrifice your lives in the sared cause of India's complete independence.

To my compatriots in India, who are at this very moment valiantly facing Britain's brute force ant tyranny in the cause of India's complete independence, I bow my head in humble tribute to their selfless sacrifice and heroism. On this historic day, I wish to assure them : God Almighty has willed that India must be free ; and India will be free. The day of your victory is fast approaching ; the day of India's deliverance is at hand.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Mr. Bose's statement to Indians in East Asia on the Independence Day, 26th January, 2603 :—

26th January, 1930 is the most significant milestone in the forward march of India's freedom. It was on that day that Indians openly and in vast numbers unfurled the flag of freedom, complete and absolute. No more parleying with the British. No longer the lingering idea of accepting the British as a necessary evil. It was the day of final parting *en masse*. Till that day there were individuals and organisations who entertained no desire of compromise with the British but from that day the whole country openly joined

in their determination to fight the British in all possible ways not with a view to reform them but to totally and completely annihilate their power from India. Every subsequent activity of the Indian National Congress has been marked with that determination.

On that memorable day, 26th January, 1930, Indians gathered together in every town and village and proclaimed to the world how spiritually, culturally, economically and politically the British rule in India has crushed them. The British rule in India has been the most abominable crime against man and God. It therefore becomes the right and duty of Indians to exterminate that rule. Millions of our countrymen in open meetings took a solemn pledge on that day, a pledge before God and the Flag of Freedom. Year after year that pledge is revived, that determination is renewed. British tried their best to suppress such open demonstrations. But as the repression became more fierce, the determination grew more vigorous.

Defying British steel and gun powder, millions of our countrymen will gather today, with set teeth and firm determination to renew their pledge. I shudder to think of the horrors that will be perpetrated throughout the length and breadth of India by the oppressor in order to prevent this. Their crumbling power will run amok. Millions of Indians armed with their moral force and determination will face today bullets and *lathies*, horse hoops and whips, insults and imprisonment. But they will not falter. We shudder to think of these horrors, but blood of pride and vengeance rushes through our veins to see our brothers and sisters in India standing up to it defying death and destruction.

My countrymen in East Asia, this year you will have the first opportunity to take that pledge for which our comrades in India have suffered so much. You will take that pledge unmolested. I appeal to my countrymen to gather together in every town or village under the Flag of India, in large numbers and express your determination to join our comrades

in India in our common struggle. Let this be a day when we search our hearts and take stock of all that we have done and all that we have left undone. Let each man ponder if he has done his duty: Let there be no man calling himself an Indian who today will not feel the urge of Freedom and is not determined to do his duty towards it. Let us from today rise above the pettiness of our minds, the smallness of our differences and stand united under the Flag of Indian Independence League. Let us not waste our time on meaningless unending arguments. Let us not use up all our intelligence in evading our duty. Let us march forward to Freedom and Glory.

Bande Mataram.

Broadcast Message to Indians in India and Friendly Nations

Bose's broadcast message to Indians in India and friendly nations abroad on the occasion of the Independence Day, 26th January, 2603 :—

My Countrymen,

Today is a solemn day for us all. 13 years ago you took the pledge of freeing our Motherland from the shackles of Britain who has crushed us politically, economically, culturally and spiritually. We have held the perpetuation of any foreign rule in India as a crime against man and God. We have felt it our duty and privilege to struggle against that oppressive rule. India has put up a heroic fight against heavy odds. I who witnessed this spectacle from a foreign country felt at once pained and proud. I was pained to witness a powerful British Empire vainly endeavouring to crush the onrushing tide of Nationalism in India, by marshalling

all its brute force and all its cunning. I was, however, proud to see that my countrymen were neither daunted by such brute force nor deceived by such cunning. Under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, they chose the right and correct road of unadulterated unified Nationalism aiming towards complete and absolute freedom. Thirteen years ago to-day, my countrymen, you stood up with defiance against the British, told them exactly what you wanted openly, took a pledge to work for it and asked the British to do their worst. Subsequent action showed that they were not mere words. Thousands went to jail. Thousands suffered loss of life and property. Thousands underwent humiliations and barbarity of the most indescribable character. Year after year, you went through blood and fire and emerged more and more determined regardless of lathi blows and bullets, galloping horses* and gaols. You almost reduced the ruthless British to impotency. The world admired your acts, sympathised with your lot.

Today again you must have assembled in parks and lanes, in towns and villages, to renew that selfsame pledge. I shudder to think of what atrocities the British must have perpetrated on you today in order to arrest that clear expression of your spirit and determination. But I am sure my countrymen could not be cowed down by any display of armed strength. You stand and fight in the open for your elementary rights and no nation on earth is or will ever be strong enough to withhold for long those rights from you. My countrymen, therefore fight on. You have right on your side. You have to-day a great part of the world on your side. The world watches your struggle and expects you to rise to the occasion. Let nothing happen that will mar the fair name of our beloved Hindustan. If you fight bravely, the world will admire you, the world will support you. You to-day hold the cause not only of India but of world peace and happiness. The future happiness of millions is staked on the issues of your struggle. You win, the forces of free-

dom over domination all over the world will succeed. You lose, all hopes of the progressive forces of the world are lost. Therefore, my countrymen, fight on.

To our friendly nations abroad, my appeal is to remove from their minds any notions they might have formed concerning India as a result of British propaganda. The British, in order to justify their rule over India, have been at pains to spread abroad fantastic notions about her. India has been depicted to you as a semi-barbarous country steeped in superstitions and prejudices. It is a blasphemy to so describe a country that has been the seat of wisdom and learning, of arts and sciences. It is true, the British have tried to convert our glorious land into a divided and helpless country. But they have failed in putting out the spirit of the nation which to-day under the leadership of the Congress, more than ever before, is not a country of weaklings. It may not be well-armed, but its determination to do or to die surpasses in strength all the brute force that her enemies can muster. Friends abroad, have faith in India. An India that once led the world is rising again. Support her struggle with sympathy and understanding, for in her success lies the success of all the hopes and aspirations of good men all over the world.

Once more I appeal to my Indian friends. Mahatmaji has already declared war against England. It is now up to you to back him up and fight it to a finish. Have faith in the Almighty, have faith in yourselves, have faith in the independence of India and success will be yours. Remember that martyr's blood lays the foundation of freedom.

Bande Mataram.

Speech at Cathay Theatre

Speech made by Bose at a special meeting held at Cathay Theatre on the occasion of the Indian Independence Day, 26th January, 2603 :—

Your Excellencies, Officers of the Nippon Navy and Army,
Representatives of the different communities in Syonan
and my countrymen !

It gives me very great pleasure to welcome you here this evening. I am sure in accepting my invitation you must have submitted yourselves to considerable inconvenience. For that I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Today for Indians, is a day of remembrance—remembrance of that memorable day 13 years ago when the Indian National Congress supported by the masses of India took an open pledge for the complete and absolute Independence of India—remembrance of the unspeakable atrocities the British perpetrated on unarmed Indians on that day and on every anniversary of that day. In India today this very hour hundreds of thousands of my countrymen will be braving the British bullets to renew the pledge which we in this town took so solemnly and without any interference, a little while ago. My heart goes out to them in sympathy. But that spectacle of India's indomitable spirit matched against British brute force is a source of great pride and inspiration to us Indians all over the world. Two centuries of emasculating rule of the British has failed to destroy the spirit of India which has fought the British inch by inch, continuously since the day British merchants turned into robbers of India's wealth and honour. Contrary to what British propagandists might have taught you, India's war with Britain has never ended. There have been ebbs and tides, there have been changes in tactics, but rarely a whole year has

passed, since the British came to India, without some sort of rising. This movement now spreading widely over East Asia and striking deep roots is therefore not a new movement.' It is a part and parcel of that great and continuous fight which India and the Indians have put up against the British. There is only one difference. So far Indians have fought the British single-handed, and while many peoples and races have sympathised with them, it has not been possible for them to render India effective assistance. The outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, however, gave an opportunity to the people of Nippon to give a concrete shape to the sympathy which they always had for the cause of India's freedom. That feeling was immediately put into effect by Premier Tojo when he made a statement pledging Nippon's unstinted support to India's struggle. It is that which has made it possible for us to organise so quickly such strong and powerful movement all over East Asia. And for that I express my heartfelt thanks to Nippon.

As I said before, the Independence Movement of East Asia is not separate from the Movement in India itself. It is as much a movement of the Indians themselves as the one in India, the only difference being that whereas the ruling power in India suppresses that movement, here it receives all possible encouragement. It is essential that this fact be properly grasped. We believe that Independence is not possible, nor is it worth having unless it is achieved by the sacrifices and efforts of the people themselves. We may receive such assistance as is available, but the responsibility is our own. The movement is ours and whether it is strong or weak, whether it achieves its object or fails in it depends principally on the strength it derives from the people themselves.

When I talk of the freedom of India I do not mean merely the political emancipation of my 400 million comrades. India's freedom is not an end in itself. No doubt we want freedom for its own sake, but we also want freedom for the sake of humanity. We want freedom, so that India

may be able to play her proper role in shaping the destiny of the world. Buddha was not the last son of India that enlightened the world. Mother India even in her days of slavery has given birth to such illustrious sons as Mahatma Gandhi. A free India will be able to carry the message of her great sons to the four corners of the world. It is for this cause that India asks for your support.

I take this opportunity to thank you, officers of the Nippon Navy and Army and all other departments, for all the help you have rendered to this movement. I very well realise that but for your unstinted support our task would have been very difficult indeed. I know you are in the midst of a gigantic war, on the results of which depends not only the fate of your glorious nation but the fate of the whole of Asia. I pray for a speedy and decisive victory to your arms.

To my friends of other communities I extend my hand of friendship and co-operation. The British have always tried to divide us. They have always made us feel that the interests of our communities are not common. I hope we will set aside any prejudices that we might have developed among ourselves as a result of such British policy and live and work in harmony, and close co-operation. We need your support and sympathy in the difficult task we have undertaken.

To my countrymen I remind once again that this is our movement. Friends will help us only if we have done our best. We are given facilities never before enjoyed to organise ourselves into a united mass of Indians—united in the aim of securing complete and absolute freedom of our Motherland. Let it not be said that Indians in East Asia in spite of all facilities failed to prepare themselves to answer the Mother's call in distress.

Bande Mataram.

Message to the Indian Community

“To my Indian Friends,—The hour has struck. We must now break the shackles with which the British have bound us hand and foot. For long, we have suffered the tyranny of the worst type of domination. All our sufferings must now come to an end and India must be free.

During the two centuries of British rule, our sacred Motherland has been reduced to a state of utter poverty and helplessness. Before the advent of the British, for thousands of years, our country had held up the beacon-light of civilisation to the rest of the world.

We had contributed to the peace, progress and prosperity of humanity, in a large measure. India was then known to the world as the land of plenty and perfection. India was then the seat of the world's learning and culture. The fame of Indian handicraft echoed in the corners of the globe.

But in two centuries of British rule, our flourishing industries have been mercilessly destroyed, our popular educational systems have sedulously been wiped out, enlightened India has been reduced to the state of a home of illiterates, our far-famed national wealth has been consequently drained out of our country. The Indian masses, that is, the teeming millions of Indian peasantry, have been reduced to a state of starvation and chronic indebtedness.

The effects of British rule on our cultural and spiritual life have been the most devastating. In Thailand, we are reminded at every step of the great influence of India's cultural and spiritual heritage on India's neighbours. Even in far-off Japan, Indian culture is still flourishing. But in India itself Britain has compelled the Indians to neglect and forget their great national heritage.

British imperialist exploitation has robbed us of our

most valuable treasures. We have been made to lose everything of which we were justly proud. India has not lost her soul. Centuries of oppression and exploitation have not been able to kill her soul. India has awakened and we are now conscious of our great loss. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, Indian awakening in the last few decades has been phenomenal. Through his action and teachings, Mahatmaji has made us realise that the root cause of our degeneration is our cultural and spiritual enslavement.

Mahatmaji has convinced us that, unless we Indians regained our confidence in our own culture, and unless we learned to rely upon our strength, we could never stand up for ourselves and defy our mighty oppressors. He has laboured for the last twenty years and India's millions have been trained along these lines.

I am in a position to assure my countrymen once again, that Japan will not invade India unless she is compelled to do so, to destroy British bases of operations in India. One thing is certain. The British will have to leave India anyway. If we can trust them ourselves, we can spare our country the horrors of war. We have seen the havoc created by the British in Malay, Burma and elsewhere in their retreat before the valiant Nippon forces. It is certain that the British will adopt the same dastardly tactics in India when they are forced to leave our country as a result of their defeat before the Nippon forces. They will destroy our homes and hearths, loot our property and inflict unthinkable sufferings on millions of our countrymen before they flee from the country. It is the solemn duty of every Indian to avert such a calamity, and this can be done if Indians themselves succeed in driving away the British from India immediately. Our next battle must be waged on such a scale as the world has never seen before. We must realise that, if we fail to act as one united nation at this most opportune moment, our fate will be sealed for ever.

Events are moving fast and none of us knows what is in

store for us to-morrow. Unless we act, in time and wisely, we may have to repent all the rest of our lives. "India expects every true Indian to rise and defend her honour at this hour of need. India, once the treasure house of the East, has become the house of famines, diseases and poverty. India has been bled white during the past two centuries by the inhuman British."

Thus exhorts Mr. Rash Behari Bose, the President of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League, in a message to the Indian community. Following is the text of the appeal :

After having been subjugated for over two centuries and deceived and disappointed time and again by the British during the period, there are still many of my brethren who sincerely believe in British promises to grant freedom to India after the war. It is not surprising at all to find among us persons of this belief because centuries of slavery have moulded their mentality in such subservient manner that a slight cajolery on the part of the British easily convinces them to such an extent that they become blind and deaf to all logical reasons or truth.

PRICE OF FREEDOM

It must be remembered that human blood is the price of freedom. Let history be the witness of this truth. Freedom is not a gift which you can acquire without sacrifice. If you are, therefore really sincere and desire complete independence of your Motherland and you wish to become a free citizen of the world, be ready to sacrifice your all selflessly for this very sacred cause and the freedom—the most precious of human rights—will be yours. It has been my desire, and only one desire, all my life to see our Motherland a free country. I was indeed happy when the Greater East Asia War was declared, knowing that at last the time has arrived when we Indians, with the help of Japan, shall be able to drive the

British out of India and I for one shall be able to breathe the air of freedom before my death.

GOD-SEND OPPORTUNITY

This is a God-sent gift for us Indians, and if we fail to get up at this very precious moment to answer the call of our Motherland, remember that the sin of four hundred millions of half-starved and humiliated people of India will be on our shoulders. If we disregard this most sacred and urgent duty now, we shall be guilty in the presence of God and man. You will not be able to get such a chance for the next few centuries. Strike when the iron is hot and you will achieve your purpose. India expects every true Indian to rise and defend her honour at this hour of need. India once the treasure house of the East, has become the house of famine, disease and poverty. India has been bled white during the past two centuries by the inhuman British. The British have no sympathy for Indians; the only policy they have adopted, throughout this period was one of exploitation, oppression and robbery. It will not be out of place to mention that as late as last August, Britain drained one hundred and ninety-nine million pounds out of India and yet another sixty-four millions will be taken out at the end of the current month. Countrymen, you were the builders of the British Empire. You sacrificed your lives for these most unworthy and ungrateful people of Britain. You were taken to distant lands to fight the war of British Imperialism and to make additions to the vast British interest, but when the place was subjugated you were driven back to India while the British remained to eat the fruit of your labour. Not only that but the development of such newly acquired lands were also undertaken by hundreds of thousands of Indian indentured labourers and when the purpose has been served the Indians were compelled to return to their native land half-starved and badly tortured. The fair land of India can easily maintain

a much bigger population than the present one, but the most unscrupulous and devastating British administration in India is the cause of famines, diseases and the existing poverty. At present India is the poorest country in the world.

HUMILIATIONS

Remember you made the British great but they humiliated you. They slashed your children until they fainted. They made your women crawl on fours. They bombed your defenceless villages and they machinegunned your helpless crowds in streets. Now tell me, as a true Indian, can you tolerate all this inhuman treatment of the British which even now is being carried out against your people.

Countrymen, you know that the British have lost everything in the East and their ship is on the verge of sinking in the West, but they are daily tightening their grip on India. If Britain had been sincere and if she wanted to bring into practice what she preaches—fighting for freedom, equality and democracy—then it was the only time for her to grant freedom to India. If she is not prepared to grant any concession to India now when she is begging for every possible assistance to save her own soul, can you imagine that Britain will be prepared to grant freedom to India when she is in her full glory and power? Remember the words of Mahatma Gandhi when he said that freedom is not a gift which will come down from the sky but you have to fight for it.

Brothers, set aside all selfish motives, tighten up your girdle and join this great race for the freedom of your country. We have been talking for the last fifty years but now is the time for action, so I appeal to you in the name of our Motherland to come forward for emancipation of India from the most obnoxious human disease—BRITAIN.

As the historic war of Greater East Asia has entered its third year. India stands at the cross-roads of her destiny. The victorious Japanese armed forces have expelled the Anglo-

American imperialist exploiters from all East Asia. With Japan as the nucleus, the foundations have been solidly laid of the sphere of mutual prosperity in Greater East Asia. Meanwhile, the beaten Anglo-American forces have withdrawn to India from where they hope against hope to launch a counter-offensive against Japan and regain their lost territories and re-subjugate the Asiatic nations which the Japanese have liberated.

India is not a party to the imperialistic Anglo-American war. The Indian people are actively sabotaging every effort of the Anglo-Americans in India. India is in the midst of her own struggle to disentangle herself from the octopus grip of the Anglo-American machine. But the Anglo-Americans are determined to bring their imperialistic war into India and to embroil Indian revolution which is directed against the British themselves. That is why the Anglo-American forces in India are systematically provoking the Japanese forces in Burma with nuisance raids and with futile threats of launching an offensive from India on Burma.

Japan is inflexibly determined to wipe out every trace of Anglo-American imperialism from the face of the entire region of Greater East Asia. Japan has nearly achieved this lofty ideal of an Asia for Asiatics but the Anglo-Americans have converted India into their last refuge from where they are hurling threats and provocations against their Japanese enemy. Japan knows that the Anglo-Americans are in India to-day, that the Anglo-Americans have poured reinforcements into India, that the Anglo-Americans have built up their bases of aggression in India—all against the uncompromising opposition of nationalist India. The Japanese know too, that it is because of this unrelenting opposition to the Anglo-American use of India as a base of aggression, that the British tyrants have thrown Mahatma Gandhi and thousands of other great patriots into jail. The Japanese know, also, that Indians are waging this heroic battle for the past five months for the sole purpose of ridding their Mother-

land of the British aggressors and their American accomplices.

Japan is, therefore, convinced that India is also fighting for the same cause, and fighting the same enemy. That is why the mighty Japanese Nation has solemnly pledged all-out aid to the unarmed Indians in their unequal struggle against the combined might of the Anglo-American enemy.

Japan's sentiments towards India in this holy war against the Anglo-American imperialists were authoritatively and most lucidly outlined by the Japanese Prime Minister, General Tojo on more than one occasion. Addressing the Imperial Japanese Diet on February 16th last year, General Tojo declared :—

“It is a golden opportunity for India having, as it does several thousand years of historic and splendid cultural traditions, to rid herself of the ruthless despotism of Britain and to participate in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan expects that India will regain her proper status as India for the Indians and Japan will not stint herself in extending assistance to the patriotic efforts of the Indians. Should India fail to awaken to her mission forgetting her history and tradition, and continue as before to be beguiled by the British cajolery and manipulation, I cannot but fear that an opportunity for the renaissance of the Indian people would be lost forever.”

That was Premier Tojo's promise of assistance in India's battle against Britain as long ago as last February. Again when he addressed the Imperial Japanese Diet on March 12 last year, Premier Tojo referred to India and said :—

“As to the Indian people, Japan entertains, of course, not the slightest thought of antagonising them. I desire, however, to reiterate clearly that the determination of Japan to crush thoroughly the American and British influences will undergo no change whatever. . . . It is my firm belief that now is the time to establish India for Indians, which has for many years been the aspiration of the four hundred million Indian people.”

General Tojo asked : "Will India rise as India for the Indians to have the honour of co-operating in the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere? Or, will India permanently stoop under the shackles of the Anglo-American Power to leave her name as a slave to posterity? India is now face to face with the time when she should liquidate her past, see the new situation correctly and make her final decision."

These clear-cut statements of Premier Tojo should leave no room for doubt in the minds of Indians. It is particularly so on three questions of most vital importance to India. Japan is inflexibly determined to drive the Anglo-American aggressors out of their last strongholds in India. Japan has solemnly pledged all-out aid in India's war of Independence. Japan will recognise India for the Indians and will assist India to take her rightful place among the Independent Nations of the world. This, in essence, is Japan's immutable policy towards India as enunciated by the Prime Minister of Japan General Tojo.

What could be clearer? What could be more sympathetic? What could be more helpful? What could be more assuring? What could be more encouraging?

With Premier's Tojo's categorical declaration before them, India's national leaders shoulder a very heavy responsibility. They hold in their hands the key to the victory and everlasting glory of India. On them rests the fateful decision. They must accept the hand of sincere friendship and powerful aid held out by Japan. India must unreservedly accept the solemn assurances of Japan that India will have her independence and former glory restored to her.

This holy war, this war of Greater East Asia, will decide the fate not only of India, not only of Asia but of the whole world. India, the cradle of the world's culture and civilisation, has a vital part to play in this historic conflict. Now or never, is India's golden opportunity, not only to liberate herself from centuries of British despotism but also to play

her glorious part in the resurrection of Asia and in the creation of a new world order based on justice and righteousness. And to fulfil her world mission, India must join hands with Japan.

I therefore appeal to all my compatriots in India and abroad, irrespective of caste or creed, to rise to the occasion. I appeal to my compatriots to remember India's glorious past, to think of India's degradation and to visualise the glorious future that awaits India at the victorious end of this war for the extermination of Anglo-American domination from Asia. With all the earnestness I can command, I appeal to my compatriots to have faith in themselves, to have faith in the resurgence of their sacred Motherland, to have faith in the pledged word of their powerful Japanese allies, and to have faith in the ultimate victory of the noble cause that Japan has espoused—the liberation of all Asia from the stifling grip of Anglo-American tyranny and exploitation.

I appeal to my compatriots to join hands with India's true friends and allies, the Japanese, and to march on to victory and freedom.

If the Anglo-Americans are still hoping to reconquer their lost territories and to regain their domination of the people of East Asia, they are only indulging in day dreaming. In under six months after the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the powerful Japanese armed forces hounded the Anglo-Americans and their allies out of their lairs in Hongkong, Philippines, Malay, Singapore, Burma, Java, Sumatra, Borneo. It was an unbroken series of defeats, disasters and retreats for the Anglo-Americans in East Asia and, in the six months that followed, Japan has already consolidated her position in this vast region, liberating nearly one hundred million Asiatic people from Anglo-American domination and reconstructing the economic structure in East Asia to wage a long drawn out war.

The remnants of the Anglo-American forces in the South Seas fled to Australia, while the beaten British armies from Burma took refuge in India. From their bases in Australia, the Americans have been trying their might and main to stage a come-back in the South Seas. They made a series of abortive stories in the last four months to challenge the supremacy of the Japanese forces in the Solomons region and lost one hundred and nineteen warships, besides nearly one thousand aircraft shot down by the Japanese in air combats over the South Pacific. The American losses since the beginning of the operation in the South Pacific have reached the staggering total of two hundred and fifty-eight warships sunk including eleven battleships, eleven aircraft carriers, fifty-two cruisers, forty-three destroyers and eighty-nine submarines. Besides these America lost also three thousand seven hundred and forty-four aircrafts in these operations. In spite of these grievous sacrifices, the Americans have miserably to reinforce their one single advance base in Guadalcanar Island in the Solomons group. American forces in Guadalcanar are marooned and are confronted with annihilation or surrender. Far from staging a come-back the Americans have almost lost the only advance base they have in the South Seas.

Roosevelt apparently realises the hopelessness of his imperialistic war in East Asia. Before the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, Roosevelt and Knox had indulged in their typical American bragging that they would sink the Japanese navy in a fortnight and burn down Tokyo if Japan challenged America. Today, it is the American Fleet that lies at the bottom of the sea ; it is the American Army that has been routed from East Asia ; and it is the American Air Force that has been swept out of the skies. With the Japanese Navy dominating the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Anglo-American communications with Australia are virtually cut off and Australia itself is faced with the choice of surrender or annihilation.

The only other base from which the vanquished Anglo-American Forces can ever try to stage a come-back is India. The Anglo-Americans established bases of aggression in India against the will of the Indian people and recently they have been boasting about their provocative nuisance raids on Burma from their bases in India. They have even begun to talk of even reconquering Burma and liberating the Burmese people. The British and their American allies in India have built up their bases of aggression in a country where four hundred million people are in revolt against them, and if they ever launch out on a campaign of aggression against Burma from their bases in India, their act will be seriously threatened by the Indians. If ever the Anglo-Americans launch out on a foolhardy venture to reconquer Burma, and to re-subjugate the Burmese people, they will meet the determined resistance of the Burmese people themselves, to say nothing of the crushing defeat which the mighty Japanese forces will inflict on them.

The famous chapter of the Anglo-American oppression and exploitation of East Asia is closed for ever. The Anglo-American forces have not the faintest hope of winning this war of Greater East Asia. Very soon, they will be hounded out of their last strongholds in India also. That day will signal the liberation of all Asia after centuries of enslavement and tyranny. And, in hastening that day India has an important role to play.

For the past five months, India has been playing that great part by waging a valiant struggle against the British. But India is waging an unequal war and needs external aid to finish out the fight for freedom. Japan has solemnly promised that aid to India in an unstinted measure. And, with that aid, Indians will march to victory, to national freedom and to the common goal of the glory of Asiatic nations.

The first week of December 1941 was just like the last week of August, 1939. As year before last America wantonly created the conditions leading to hostilities in the East by

defying Ambassadors Nomura and Kurusu, so in August 1939 Great Britain provoked war in Europe by instigating Poland to refuse any negotiations on the question of Danzig.

Hardly ten months after, in June 1940, when Italy entered war and France collapsed, Great Britain was doomed to disaster such as she has never faced in the whole course of her history. Even the momentous days in the great struggle between England and Napoleon were not fought with such dangers to the English people as those summer months of 1940. To-day these dangers are even more accentuated and the ruin of England is all the more certain.

During the first few months of the war the British propaganda machine endeavoured to make the world believe that the war in Europe would take a course similar to that of the Great War of 1914-8. After the ignominy of Dunkirk it was not of course possible for England to dream of 1914. All hopes of encircling Germany that had proved successful in 1914 were given up. England however, persisted in continuing the war and clung to the hope of blockading Germany by sea and put her trust in the power of her Navy. By the occupation of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Poland, Belgium and France all necessary supplies, foodstuffs and raw materials are made available to Germany while England herself was blockaded by submarines and deprived of supplies from Europe. Today, it is not Germany but England that is slowly being starved.

It will be remembered that during the last war, in spite of England having enjoyed the freedom of the seas in the North Sea, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, she was at one time within one week of collapse by starvation, as Lloyd George confessed in his war memories written after the war. From this one may well conclude what will be ultimately the condition of England in this war when all the seas are unsafe and the German U-boats are taking a toll of eight hundred thousand and even a million tons of shipping per month. Anglo-American

boasts that the Allies can build three ships a day but they conveniently forget that it is easier for the Axis to build six U-boats a day and man them more efficiently.

England has always admitted that the battle of the Atlantic is vital to her existence. This battle is already lost to her, whatever ingenuity at her command she may use to disguise the fact. To win the battle of the Atlantic the English navy should have been indestructible. In the last war the navy had only to cope with the submarines. This time the air arm has upset all British calculations and the forecasts of the navy experts who cherished the illusion that battleships were immune against the dangers of air force. The British navy is helpless in the North Sea and even in the English Channel for the French Coast and even the Channel Islands which were British, for one hundred years are in German hands.

For a time England cherished the hope of a victorious Russia, but to-day all the important areas furnishing food-stuffs and raw materials such as the wheat of Ukraine and iron and coal of the Don basin are in German hands and the productive power of Russia is reduced to seventy-five per cent. The Russians, it is true, have doggedly defended Stalingrad but what is the value of this city today? It is a heap of ruins with all the war factories destroyed and useless for the Russians. Above all, the Germans have settled on the Volga thus cutting off this vital life-line of the Russians along which the oil of the Caucasus flowed to the rest of Russia.

The British are now gloating over the importance of the offensive operations in the north-west of Stalingrad and in the Kalinin area; but what is all this worth? The Russians have never advanced more than fifteen miles even in a narrow sector though the British make out that they have taken hundreds of villages, inhabited localities and nameless places. Where were these localities when the Germans took them pushing their advance not 400 yards like the Russians but

four-hundred miles from Rostov to Stalingrad and down to the Black Sea and the Caspian? The Germans never cared to mention such insignificant gains of villages which though far beneath their notice, and grand achievements in the eyes of the British, so little accustomed to see any victories.

Another subject to bolster up the sinking spirit of the Anglo-Saxons is provided by their grand victories in North Africa over the defenceless French. But even if the Anglo-Americans take the whole of North Africa including Libya and Tripoli, what are these desert sands and escarped hills worth in war strategy? Churchill said in his last speech that North Africa is to be the springboard for offensive operations in Europe.

If this could be realized, North Africa would undoubtedly be of some advantage to the Anglo-Saxons. But we have heard before a lot of such nonsense and wild talk from Churchill, Duff Cooper, Eden and other fire-eaters, from the time the British landed in Narvik and on both sides of Trondheim fjord in Norway and then beat a hasty retreat. Eden went all the way to Greece and Yugoslavia to make both the countries spring-boards for England with the results that the whole world knows.

The invasion of French North Africa is not going to decide the issue of war. The European war like the last Great War will be decided in the Atlantic and on the battle-fields of Europe. In both these theatres Britain is fighting a losing campaign, for the whole of Europe, excepting a part of Russia, under the hegemony of Germany and of Italy and the Atlantic is at the mercy of German submarines and air power. Mahatma Gandhi read the writing on the wall months ago when he ordered the English to quit India. India cannot and will not back up a losing game especially on the side of a despotic nation that has exploited India in all imperial wars, that have brought misery to the world during the last century and a half only to gratify the Anglo-Saxon lust for power and domination.

Now that a year has closed upon the outbreak of hostilities in East Asia, provoked by the arrogance and insolent attitude of Anglo-America, one indisputable fact emerging from this sanguinary struggle is that Japan, by her brilliant victories has created all the conditions which make her ultimate victory an absolute certainty, declares Mr. Rash Behari Bose in a statement.

The Americans lived in fool's paradise with a vain belief in their invincibility, in the power of their navy that would shatter the fleets of Japan in a month and in their wonderful air-fleets which, some Senators openly proclaimed, should bomb Japan out of existence. These lotus-eaters soon awoke to the reality on Monday morning, the 8th of December the year before last, when America staggered under the blow which Japan dealt her in Pearl Harbour.

The Americans never dreamed that Japan could venture in to a war with America and attack the Philippines. Yet it was only a matter of weeks before Japan chased away the American forces and freed the Philippines from the yoke imposed upon them by treacherous America, breaking her pledged word to the Filipino leaders in revolt against Spain. On the other side, short shift was made of Hongkong, the British bastion meant to keep China in control and in a perpetual semi-colonial state. The Anglo-Saxon propaganda then began trumpeting forth the invincibility of Singapore, the great bastion, which was to ensure the Anglo-Saxon predominance in the whole of East Asia, in Dutch East Indies and the South-Eastern islands. The fall of Singapore spelt the doom of the Anglo-Saxons in East Asia. The dramatic sinking of the strongest British ships, the Prince of Wales and Repulse off the Malayan coast proved that the right place for the boosted British Navy, supposed to keep the seas safe for England, is not above but under the waters of the Indian Ocean.

On the other side, the Pacific is already the grave of the American navy and what is left of it is being rapidly sent to

the bottom of the seas around the Solomon Islands.

After the fall of Singapore, the Anglo-American propaganda did not allow itself to be disconcerted and hailed Rangoon as the advance post against Japanese expansion and the bulwark for the defence of the Burma route along which munitions and supplies flowed to the solely tried Chungking forces. Rangoon soon followed the way of Singapore, the whole of Burma was lost to the British and the Burma route was cut, resulting in the strangling of the Chungking Government while all the wealth and resources of Burma were available to Japan.

The conquest of Borneo, Java, Sumatra and the whole of the Dutch Indies also brought under the control of Japan the enormous wealths of these islands in oil, rubber, tin and various other raw materials indispensable for war industries. To this must be added the rubber and tin of Malay and the oil of Burma. The basic policy of Anglo-America had been to deprive Japan of oil and of all raw materials with a view to destroying her striking power. The freezing of her assets and the arrogance of the Dutch authorities in Java during the Japanese negotiations were all calculated to bring Japan to her knees. All these vain hopes were shattered during last year. It is Anglo-America that is now deprived of the most necessary supplies of rubber and tin. The engineer is hoisted on his own petard.

Another vain hope to which Anglo-America always clung was that the Japanese navy was inefficient against the powerful American fleets and that her air force was an unknown and insignificant quantity. All British and American writers on Eastern strategy affirmed that both these offensive arms were not at all evidenced in the four years of the China struggle. On this point also, Anglo-America was destined to be disillusioned. Japan not only shattered the Anglo-American fleets round Java and Sumatra and the Solomons but even occupied the Aleutian islands near the coast of Alaska, and America is too powerless to dislodge them from the

islands. To make up for their impotence, America resorts to base tricks of landing forces in defenceless French possessions in North Africa and boasting of victories where there has been hardly any resistance.

. Now the British and the Americans are indulging in wild dreams and wilder talk about India being the springboard for the coming offensive operations of the Anglo-Saxons against Japan and the occupied countries. This might have been to a certain extent possible if England had known how to win the love of the Indian people and thus make available for herself the vast resources of India. But in her selfish interests Britain has sown the seeds of hatred and is now massacring the loyal patriots of India who are stoutly resisting all the infernal machines that England in the name of freedom is employing against them. India is not, therefore, going to be a springboard but a coffin for the last British and American remnants in East Asia. Their day in East Asia is gone, and India must be convinced of this fact and must act accordingly, uniting in relentless resistance against the British exploitation. The bugbear of its substitution by Japanese exploitation is baseless, for Japan has enormous wealth at her disposal in Malay and the former Dutch Colonies, and does not need to exploit India. All that Japan seeks is the friendship of India and a common purpose in chasing away the common enemy and all Anglo-Saxon influences from India and East Asia.

STAND UP AND FIGHT

Slaves of a century longing to be free
From the yoke of British tyranny.
Our leaders imprisoned, our people cry
For succour, lest they die.

Hands outstretched across the Indian Seas,
Eyes turned towards us, saying "if you please,
Send us aid to fight the British foe :
This is the only way to drive away our woe."

What shall our answer be? "Yea" or "Nay"
Shall we close our eyes and say :
'We know you not,' or shall we,
Revelling in our manhood and our strength,
Call across the open Seas : "Stand up and fight
We are behind you with our might
To set you free, land of our destiny?"

If you answer "Yea," true sons of India, we
Must plan and fight to set our country free,
Gird up our loins, think naught of life
Nor count the cost in willing sacrifice.

Today we stand outside our Mother's door
Armed, ready, poised to strike her foe,
Mother of us all, Your hour of liberty
Draws nigh ; your sons will set you free
Or die in shame and anguish
Should we fail to heed Your cry
"Send Me succour, lest I die."

Britain Surrenders

SINGAPORE IS NO MORE

Just a year ago on this day, the 14th of February, the mighty British forces in Malaya were made to bow before the superior might of Nippon and the "brave" British Lt. General Arthur Percival had to walk, with white flag on his shoulder, to the camp of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, Lt. General Tomoyuki Yemashita, to surrender himself, his men and materials unconditionally.

In nine weeks of operations the British Fleet was completely annihilated and the British Air Force was completely destroyed. In operations in and around Singapore alone 73,000 able men, Indians, Australians, New Zealanders and Englishmen, well equipped with deadly weapons of war, were disarmed and taken prisoners. The following list will give an idea of the men and machines the British possessed at the time of their surrender.

This list was published by the Imperial Japanese Army High Command, Tokyo, on 21st February, 1942 :—

(a) Prisoners of War totalled 73,000 made up as follows—

Englishmen	..	..	15,000
Australians	..	..	13,000
Indians	..	..	45,000

and also 8,000 wounded. The captives included 28 Officers ranking from Major-Generals to Generals and includes :—

Lieut.-Gen. Percival.
Lieut.-Gen. Hiss.
Major-Gen. Keir.
Major-Gen. Smith.
Major-Gen. Caragon (Australian).
Major-Gen. Simmons, etc.

(b) Booty captured includes :—

Heavy Artillery (large cannons)	..	300
Machine Guns	.. ..	2,000
Rifles	.. ..	50,000
Tanks	.. ..	200
Various kinds and types of motor vehicles	.. ..	10,000
Motor Cycles	.. ..	200
Ammunition, artillery shells, bullets and other war materials	..	infinite

(c) Ships captured :—

10,000 ton ship	.. ..	1
5,000 ton Tankers	.. ..	3
Small steamers of various sizes	..	several

The following was published by the Imperial Japanese Navy High Command, Tokyo, on 25th February, 1942 :—

Ships which attempted to flee to Netherland East Indies :

SUNK :

Light Cruiser	.. ..	1
Special Cruiser	.. ..	1
Submarine	.. ..	1
Gun Boats	.. ..	2
Mine Layer	.. ..	1
Special Service Ship	.. ..	1
Transport Vessel—30,000 ton	..	1
8,000 ton	..	1
5,000 ton	..	4
3,000 ton	..	2

HEAVILY DAMAGED :

Cruiser (belonging to the Netherlands)	1
Destroyer	1
Special Service Ships	2
Transport Vessels	10
Torpedo Boat	1

GROUNDED :

Mine Layer ..	..	..	1
Transport Vessel ..	..	..	1

From the above we can easily form an idea as to what extent the British forces were demoralised and disorganised. Two shiploads of British reinforcements arrived at Singapore two days after its surrender and were welcomed by the Flag of the Rising Sun. The much-advertised impregnability of the fortress of Singapore turned to be a complete myth. The famous docks and bases of the British Navy at Singapore which took decades to build at the cost of the sweat, blood, toil and tears of hundreds of thousands of Asiatics and which had been the subject of British boast throughout the world, proved to be utterly useless in the face of Nippon's onslaught from land, sea and air and were smashed almost overnight. •

Thus, after a short period of nine weeks of operations through dense jungles and towering mountains the famous campaign of Imperial Nipponese forces ended in the complete defeat of the British who, until then, were the undisputed masters of Malay for over a century. With the end of British Imperialism in Asia, the loss of Singapore is both morally and materially a decisively fatal blow. As the developments in the months subsequent to Singapore's fall have abundantly shown, for Nippon the capture of that most strategic stronghold of British militarism was equally imperative and important. With Singapore in the hands of the Imperial Nipponese forces, their operations in all directions were greatly facilitated, and the islands of the South Seas and of the Bay of Bengal fell with comparatively much less sacrifice as far as Nippon was concerned. The repercussion of the fall of Singapore was felt even in Burma where the British forces, following the tradition they have established in the current war, staged constant and continuous retreats until they reached the borders of India and were no more pursued by Nippon's mighty army. Within a few months

Japan occupied all the lands east of India which were under the Flags of Britain and her Allies, while the Nippon Navy rules the waves of not only the Western Pacific but also of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal.

Singapore has become Shonan and from this strategic point in the centre Nippon directs her operations, constructively for the people of Asia and destructively for Britain and her Allies in all the occupied areas from Burma to the South Seas.

The Malayan Campaign and the surrender of Singapore were so full of important incidents that future generations in every Asiatic country will remember them with interest and attachment and will draw inspiration for their own patriotic efforts. They will recollect the bravery of Nippon's "War Eagles", as their airmen are called, in plunging head-long with their machines into the mighty Flagship of the British, the Prince of Wales, giving it a blow which the latter could not survive. They will remember the daring, the dash and the speed of Nippon's land forces through unknown and most difficult terrain—the thick jungles of Malaya, now Malai. And they will also remember the British bluff regarding their great defences about which they talked so loudly and so much before they fell one after another like a house built of cards.

When thinking of the Malayan Campaign and Singapore's surrender, we Indians, and our future generations, cannot forget the admirable part played by Indian soldiers who were brought to Malaya to fight British Imperialism. We will always remember with pride the wisdom of our warriors in facing and realising the fact that Japan, against whom they were asked to fight, is not our enemy but, instead, that our undoubted and only enemy is British Imperialism. When we think of the Malayan Campaign and Singapore's surrender, we will recollect with pride the fact that our compatriots, although hired by our British enemies for their selfish purposes, proved themselves when the test came to

be true patriots who have voluntarily offered their service in the cause of India's freedom, and are prepared to lay down their lives to achieve that end. We will also recall the great movement that been started in East Asia for the freedom of India under the guidance of the Indian Independence League and under the leadership of our veteran revolutionary, Sri Rash Behari Bose. Last but not least, we will remember the great promise of the most valuable all-out aid to India in her struggle for complete freedom given by the Imperial Japanese Government, through the Premier, General Hideki Tojo, and the assurance which he gave that Japan has no political, economic or territorial ambitions in India in offering such help. Japan, General Tojo has said, wants to see India a friendly, full-fledged Sovereign State with the status of equality with all the world.

The successful Malayan campaign, which terminated with the surrender of Singapore, was the key to all these most welcome developments. Thus the 14th of February will remain for ever one of the most memorable days in the history of India's fight for freedom, and of the regeneration of Asia as a whole. Since Singapore has become Shonan friendship between Japan and Thailand has taken a more permanent and solid shape. Japan's leadership in East Asia has been more firmly established and the relation between Japan and the National Government of China at Nanking has become closer and more friendly. Japan has given up all concessions and extra-territorial rights in China.

During the last ten years and more of Japan's activities on the continent of Asia there were many among the Asiatics who were misled into believing that Japan's ambitions were not much different from the imperialistic ambitions of Britain or America. Undoubtedly Anglo-American Propaganda against Japan was mainly responsible for this unreal impression which was created in certain quarters. They, being victims of the shrewd imperialistic propaganda of Anglo-America, could not realise that it was necessary for

those enemies of humanity to antagonise our feelings against Japan because it was only through this means that they could secure our co-operation and consequently could protect their power and influence in India and Asia and could continue their ruthless exploitation. Misled by such unhealthy propaganda and deliberate lies, those innocent beings began to see "a ghost" in everything that Japan did and thus, indirectly but positively, began to strengthen the hands of our own enemies in their aggression against us.

Among them, however, there were many who were purposely and selfishly working as the fifth columnists of British Imperialism. It is difficult to convince these men of their folly. When the time comes, they will have to be approached by a different method. But there are those who out of their fervent desire to see their country free and happy were overcautious and, rather innocently, began to see the things through the eyes of the British agent provocateurs and began to doubt the intentions of Japan in her efforts to create a New Order in Asia. For these innocent beings the various declarations of Japan and other events during the last one year since the surrender of Singapore should leave no doubt that Japan wants to see Indians and other Asiatic nations attain the status of complete freedom and equality. If they had any doubt left, the recent declaration by General Tojo, made before the Imperial Diet on 29th January, 1943, pledging the freedom of Burma within this present year, 1943, should freely and completely remove such doubts. If any Indian believes that Burma and the Philippines will attain complete freedom but that India will have to remain under the heel of Japan, he will have to be regarded as an abnormal being fundamentally lacking in intelligence. Unfortunately for such a man intelligence cannot be bought or lent. He must always remain an object of pity. He lacks the knowledge of the strength of India's mass organisation and does not know anything about the



Shri Bhupati Majumder with Mrs. Tetsu Higuchi, Miss. Watanabe, Rev. N. Kimura and many other Japanese friends and relatives of late Shri Basu at the Indian Embassy at Tokyo.

brave fight that the Indians are putting up against the well-established British Government in India.

However, for a moment let us leave aside these indirect methods of calculation. The Imperial Japanese Government has gone a step further and, following the declaration regarding Burma and Philippines, Premier General Tojo, on 4th February 1943, before the Imperial Diet in unequivocal language stated that the Imperial Government of Japan has no political or territorial ambition in India and that it would continue to give every possible help to India in her efforts to achieve freedom because it wants to see India a completely free country in reality. We need not add anything to this very clear expression of Japan's will. In view of this concrete official declaration it will not only be utter foolishness but a horrid crime to doubt Japanese sincerity. Only those who want to undo our efforts and to harm our cause will try to create an impressions that Japan has any selfish motive behind her promise of aid to India. Such men are for all practical purposes the agents of British imperialism and should be treated as such.

To us Indians, fighting for our freedom, the capture of Malaya by Japan has a significance which cannot be disputed. It represents the passing of another milestone on the path of the progress to our desired goal—the freedom of India. It also means that, militarily, one more obstacle has been removed. The fall of British Singapore and the rise of Japanese Shonan is an inspiration to us. It has become the beacon of our hopes for a newer, fuller and freer life.

The capitulation of Singapore is merely one episode in the drama of the route of British Imperialism from lands in which for many decades it had been firmly entrenched. But there is more to it than that for to Asia has also come a spiritual, a moral awakening which has made people discard the evil influences of British and America and seek to carve out their own destiny. Thus men who were born free

and became slaves have once again found their freedom and are now in power. To these people, according to one Asiatic leader, 'even a hell of our own creation is more preferable to a paradise under British or American domination.

On February 14th, 1943, the date of the surrender of Malaya, we Indians will gratefully and joyfully celebrate the end of one year of tremendous change in the lives of Asiatic peoples. Britain's, and along with her America's retreat from East Asia has now entered its definite stage. The people of Asiatic countries, waiting to emerge into the reality of complete independence, are looking at India. What about our own beloved Motherland? She is still at the end of the British leash, being whipped and cajoled and bludgeoned, tortured and murdered by her British masters whose lust for conquest and power has blunted the edges of the finer spirit of humanity. India's independence is a pre-requisite to the search for human happiness. Without it, it will be like the eating of food without its main ingredient, salt, tasteless, flavourless. India's independence will deal a *coup-de-grace* to the British retreat from East Asia, finally wound the heart of the Indian Ocean Empire and hasten the downfall of the British Empire. It will also symbolise and show the way to the total emancipation of Asia.

Sri Rash Behari Bose in his pamphlet "The Battle is On" has appealed to Indians as follows: "Every one of you, my compatriots, has an important role in this fight. The fate of our glorious Motherland is at stake. Our national independence must be wrested from the British tyrants. Our national honour must be wrested from the British tyrants. Our national honour must be vindicated. We must fight this battle to a finish AND WE MUST WIN." What more need be said to stress the urgency and gravity of the issue facing India. The Indian people know only too well that as rewards for the sacrifice of 280,000 Indian lives and the contribution of vast funds out of Indian purses in the first European War to help Britain win it, the British gave them

the Rowlatt Act instead of autonomy and the Amritsar massacre instead of independence. Has there ever been a more cruel and shameful betrayal of trust in all history? With these "rewards" as their inspiration, the Indians to-day have started the battle in earnest. India, in the past, helped much to enable Britain to achieve her greatness. She is now resolved on driving the British Empire towards its downfall. There is only one pre-requisite to the emancipation of Asia and the elimination of Anglo-America. It is the INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA. Malaya was freed on 14th February, 1942. The date of India's deliverance which will be coloured in red in the world calendar of the future depends on us. What will be that date? Let our words and deeds fix it imprishably in man's memory.

Bande Mataram

FREEDOM : AN ANGLO-AMERICAN MYTH

Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.—Lord Ponsonby—published a book in May, 1928 entitled "Falsehood in War-time". He might with equal truth have called it "British Falsehood", since eighty per cent of its pages constitute an expose of methods of propaganda concerning the Great War of 1914-18 which were not only calculated to mislead people but deliberately to lead them to the belief that the enemy which then was Germany was the personification of evil, while contrariwise, Britain was the personification of goodness and virtue. This insidious poison coursed through the veins of millions in Britain and then, like a contagion, spread overseas with the result that a wholly untrue legend of German frightfulness, rapacity and terrorism was built up which through that war and for several years afterwards continued to circulate till it was finally scotched as its circulation was no longer necessary. A cynic once said "when War is declared, Truth is the first casualty." To this can be added

the statement that in the arena of international rivalry and conflict men have placed patriotism above truthfulness as the indispensable virtue of statesmen. Arthur Ponsonby himself makes the assertion that in the Great War, the greatest falsehood which was published to the world, first by Britain and then by America which came into the war at the urgent request of Britain to save her Empire, was the statement that those two nations would, at the end of the war, "establish on lasting foundations a magnificent, just and righteous peace." What was actually done, however, was to inject the most violent poison of hatred into men's minds by means of falsehood, thus defiling the human soul as well as destroying the human body. And, today, twenty-five years later, such falsehoods are once again in circulation because the two Powers who fought the last war to create a lasting peace have themselves pulled down to the ground the house which they had built on shifting sand. As in the past Anglo-America today is rousing the passions of people, inflaming their indignation, exploiting their patriotism, and desecrating their highest ideals by concealment, subterfuge, fraud, falsehood, trickery and deliberate lying. The monstrous finger of falsehood has always beckoned to the people of Britain and those who formed her subject races, and if the call to battle is not obeyed with more than ordinary willingness, since the people have discovered the polluted sources from which the call proceeds, then the very leaders who so glibly talk of safeguarding the principles of democracy, become dictators and compel men to fight for a cause in which they have no interest and which is based on lies, cunning and deceit.

It was truly a very wise man who once said that Britain's relations with people whom she has forced into an unwilling selfdom for her own ultimate benefit, have been made easy in the past by pledges and promises which were broken as soon as a particular need ceased to exist and by the use of the administrative whip when everything was calm, peace-

ful, tranquil. The one country in the world which has experienced both has been India which to-day, disrupted and bleeding, rears her head high and refuses to be cajoled by promises or intimidated by violence since her people, purified at the altar of Independence, are determined to wrest it without counting the cost or the sacrifice and strengthened by the knowledge that in their struggle for freedom, which has reached a crisis, they have found in Japan who, inspired by the highest principles of Asiatic brotherhood, has expressed her determination to help India to regain the liberty which is rightly hers.

The consciousness of wrongs unrighted and disbelief by the Indian people in British promises had been growing since 1857 when the Indians first revolted against British Imperialism. Since then hundreds of thousands of Indians, young and old, men, women and children, have been illustrating and exemplifying the way to escape slavery by watering the soil of their Motherland with their blood. The sapling of revolution, planted many years ago, has now become a giant tree with its branches spreading to the uttermost ends of the earth, nurtured and fostered by patriots, and fertilized by the bodies which have been buried under its roots, unfortunate victims of British hatred whose only crime was that they had tried to remind British of her promise of freedom for their blood, and by the same token, have convincingly proved to the world that Britain still maintains her selfish grip on India through lying promises which have never seen fulfilment even after two centuries.

In his inspiring address to the Indian Independence Conference which was held in Bangkok, Thailand, on June 15th 1942, Mr. Rash Behari Bose said: "I do not want to take your time by going into details regarding India's struggle for freedom since 1857. Suffice to say that although the failure of our revolt in 1857 was a great blow to the nation and although a general depression had overwhelmed the country, our efforts to overthrow British rule have never

ceased..... Under the circumstances prevailing in those days, the activities had to be carried underground and within a limited scope." To-day, however, the revolt against British oppression is no longer the work of a small organisation meeting in secret, but a planned open rebellion, sponsored and authorised by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress and in which the most stalwart and the most puny sons of India and even women and little children are taking part, because at long last they have grown tired of British lies, humbug and hypocrisy and are ready to die so that those who follow after them may experience the blessing and the happiness of being free men and women.

On August 27th, 1914, Mr. H. H. Asquith who symbolised Britain's dealings with her colonies with the cryptic phrase "Wait and See" told the House of Commons the main reason why Britain had to fight Germany: "We are going into a war that is forced upon us as the defenders of the weak and the champions of liberty. It was only when we were confronted with the choice between keeping and breaking solemn obligations, between the discharge of a binding trust and of shameless subservience to naked force that we threw away the scabbard..... We were bound by our obligations, plain and paramount, to assist and maintain the threatened independence of a small and neutral State (Belgium)." This deliberate falsehood is being disgustingly repeated to-day by Mr. Winston Churchill, his later successor as Premier of Great Britain, and President Roosevelt of America, another apostle of the very much perverted Anglo-American doctrine of the Freedom of Mankind.

Dr. Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar, and a great champion of the African native people once told General (now Field Marshal) Smuts, "It is political madness..... to try and subject a weaker people to selfdom or to slavery..... It is moral madness. It is so definitely an anti-Christian policy that no one who adopts it can any longer justify the Gospel of Christ." Britain and America are Christian countries.

Can the former justify the bondage imposed on India and the latter justify the open support of this bondage? Britain's promise of justice to the weaker people can never be made good so long as lust, greed, selfishness and uncharitableness are the guiding principles of her administrative policy. Anglo-America has always been adept at clothing the rough tissue of falsehoods with eloquence, spurious impartiality and rhetorical indignation, which give a lie the stamp of undoubted truth, even without the shadow of a proof. That is how the British and American part of the world has been deceived into believing that India, under British rule, is satisfied and that she once was, and still is a willing partner in all the horrible crimes being committed by Great Britain in the name of her Empire, and of India.

The truth, however, has been dramatically exposed in the declaration of Independence made by the Indian National Congress which has been supplemented each year by a public recital of that declaration, by the open revolt of the Indian National Congress last year (1942) and by the flowing of blood that has been the lot of the poor, defenceless people of India ever since in fighting a despot who is not only using the most deadly weapons of modern warfare but even the sons of India in his ruthless desire to suppress the primeval passion of man to be as free as God has created him.

Reinhard Frank in a book which was published in Berlin in 1940, entitled "British Tyranny in India," wrote: "Shortly after the declaration of war against Germany the British Government ordered India's participation in the struggle. Lord Linlithgow commanded the Indians to join forces with Britain in this fight for freedom and democracy. The Indians joined in the war. They took up the flag of freedom. But they are not carrying it side by side with England; they are carrying it against Britain. Freedom is not, for them, an empty phrase. It is a longing rooted in the hearts of the poor, and dejected through centuries of

British rule. The fight for freedom which had been a suppressed murmur, has now become a mighty roar echoing through the whole country : " 'Swaraj, Freedom.' "

If one were to dig deep into the underlying causes which have led to the disillusionment of Indians as far as British rule and promises are concerned, one will be amazed at their number. India is the richest country in the world and its original exploitation was started by the East India Company whose methods have been compared to the depravity of a tramp combined with the rapacity of a pirate. It represented a sort of mock-majesty with a blood sceptre, one hand holding a policeman's cudgel, the other ready to pickpocket, the whole inspired by the petty mind of a shop-keeper. Ever since the first British Shylock made a demand for usury, India has been paying its pound of flesh and blood. Macaulay, the famous British historian, once said of the administration of India : "Govern leniently and send more money ; practise strict justice and moderation towards neighbouring Powers and send more money ; this is truly the sum of almost all the instructions that Hastings ever received from home."

Britain has always put forward the claim that she has given peace and prosperity to India. Yet here is Macaulay ironically illustrating the objective of British administration in the three words—*send more money*. And in order to obtain this the British increased its strangle-hold on India, firstly by dividing the people into cliques on the principle of divide and rule, and then, becoming the balance in the see-saw between Hindus and Mohammedans, threw its weight into the side which it thought would serve its interests best. And, as a consequence, the myth of Indian disunity rose and which is now being trotted out by Britain from time to time to illustrate how difficult it is to give to the Indian people the right of freedom. This myth, however, has been thoroughly exploded in recent times as all the world knows, ~~once~~ Hindu and Moslem are locked together in a common

brotherhood in service of the one Mother which gave them birth and are mingling their blood to save her from utter destruction at the hands of the unscrupulous British.

Great Britain has not only failed to bring peace and prosperity to India, but English industry is ruining Indians handicraft ; there is constant unemployment, the over-crowding of villages, industrial misery, poverty, a high rate of mortality, especially amongst infants, economic exploitation, a nefarious and unjust 'system' of taxation, recurrent epidemics, unhygienic housing condition, a poor educational system, excessive sale of liquor and opium and a thousand and one other ills too numerous to mention which have brought starvation, moral degradation and physical deterioration. Truly, unhappy examples of British incompetence, tyranny and exploitation !

When Britain talks of fighting for freedom and democracy there is, presumably, a stilling of the conscience since its administrative history in relation to the subject races is one long, black record of rapacity and greed, oppression and suppression. British nurtured slavery centuries ago by intimidation, threats and the use of brute force, and she fosters it today by cajolery, bribery and, again, the application of brute force. It is true that, theoretically, slavery does not exist any longer but the term subject race and the manner in which such races are governed, suggest, by implication, that such people are no better off than the slaves of yore. They are being subjected to the same brutal treatment and have to conduct themselves according to the whims and fancies of their overlords. Ernst A. Olbert in a pamphlet entitled "England—Slave-trader and Slave-owner", puts in a nutshell the British mentality in regard to its possessions and people overseas: "The English had not only insisted on taking part in the extremely unsavoury but exceedingly profitable business of slavery but were in fact the first really to organise the slave-trade and carry it on in greater and still greater extent, without being forced, by

reason of possession of colonies of their own, to traffic in this way in human beings. England thus took an active part, as the initiator and principal agent, in a traffic with human beings unworthy of a truly civilized land, from motives of a sordid gain and thus brought her colonial career into grave moral disrepute in its very beginning."

What happened in Africa has happened and is still happening in India. Britain has promised freedom to Indians but still continues to hold them in a bondage which can only be broken asunder with one tremendous united tug by the people of India themselves. No chain which can be forged can withstand the effort of a combined and determined people to break it. For two hundred years the Indian people have been enduring misery and degradation. Sir F. J. Shore in his "Notes on Indian Affairs", said: "But the halcyon days of India are over. She has been drained of a large portion of the wealth she once possessed and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interest of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few." This is the righteous outburst of one Englishman who felt that India was not being given that fairplay which other Englishmen glibly prattle of. India became "sickled unto death" by sham Constitution which was given to her. That is why she no longer believes in the promises of the British Government or its representative in India, the Viceroy. Mr. Winston Churchill, the Premier of Britain, who is ensnaring weaker nations into the Anglo-American net by pious expressions and specious promises of making the world safe for democracy, when leader of the Conservative Opposition the House of Common, opposed the motion granting India a Constitution recognising her status as a Dominion. According to him India should on no account be granted the status of a Dominion for at least another 100 years. And he is the very man who having coined the phrase "blood, sweat, tears and toil", calls upon Indians to whom he wishes to deny liberty for a hundred years and

more, to spill their blood and sweat and toil, presumably to stop the flow of Britain's agonised tears. He is either a simpleton or a knave, but his words and his deeds alike support the second supposition. The real truth is that India is meant to serve British purposes and the chain of bondage will never cease until and unless we break it ourselves.

One more quotation will suffice to interpret Britain's attitude to India since it definitely makes clear the falsehood that is England. Mr. Isaac Foot, member of Parliament, in a debate on India said: "We heard last week, as we have heard all through this debate, about our burning passion for the masses of India, about our high Imperial mission and our dread responsibility that we have to discharge; and in the midst of it we have all this talk about protecting our trade. There has been nothing like it since Shylock went through the streets of Venice crying:

'My daughter!—O my ducats!—O my daughter!

'Justice!—The Law! My ducats!—And my daughter!'
He who tries for the first time to penetrate into the history of India under British rule soon comes to its darkest chapters. Sanctimoniousness and greed, sham love and sham responsibility for India as well as real commercial interests are the keynotes in England's attitude towards India. 'O, my India! —O, my ducats!'

What we Indians must always remember is that India is the kernel of the British Empire. That is why Britain's dealings with India have been characterised by hypocrisy, sufferings and plunder. We know the financial interests, the economic measures, the police methods and the process of human humiliation by which Britain has gained her hold on India. She has been economically, politically and militarily exploited and will continue to be exploited unless Indians in India and those outside it gird up their loins and fight. "You don't know what English are like", Mrs. Annie Beasant once said. India ignored that warning till, today, she is paying for that negligence with blood. But the vulgar, dis-

gusting gangster methods of Britain have at long last weakened the Indians to the perils which they face not only from British Imperialism but the newer brand manufactured in America by President Roosevelt which shouts for freedom and, at the same time stifles the legitimate demands of people for that same freedom by reinforcing Britain's ability to resist popular clamour. America's attitude towards World Freedom is clearly shown in the recent statement of a famous American writer very close to White House: "What the world of the future to be, is to be determined by Great Britain and the United States. It will certainly be a world of citizenship of the English-speaking peoples, founded not on formal laws but on instinct." The only instinct which Anglo-America possesses in relation to India can be likened to that of a beast searching for prey and gorging itself on the defenceless victim that it strikes down. Herein lies a lesson for Indians: there is only one reminder which should count: "The battle is On" and whether it means life or death individually, we have, collectively, to fight the good fight for the cause of the freedom of India, our Motherland, so that those who come after us may live as free men. British hypocrisy and humbug have been completely exposed. Britain will not free India since she is the kernel of the British Empire. We have to do that ourselves, fortified by the knowledge that we have friends, especially the greatest friends of them all, Japan, from which to draw further strength should we need it. Japan, inspired by righteousness, justice and freedom has ranged herself alongside us. So have the other Axis Powers all of whom have the knowledge that India's destiny is bound up in theirs and that the future happiness of mankind depends on India's freedom. There are, unfortunately, a few misguided people in India who still cling to the British in the forlorn hope that in the hands of the latter lie the freedom of India. These men have forgotten that it is the British administration which is plundering India and keeping it in an unholy

bondage and that the want, misery, famine and bloodshed which are now being experienced are the "rewards" of Britain for loyalty and service. These people ought by now to know that the most moderate of all Indians, Mahatma Gandhi, would not have given the clarion call to action in ousting the British from India except that he was convinced that the British will never keep their promise of giving India freedom. The fact is that such men who are still clinging to Britain, including the Princes of India, whose so-called blue blood has turned as black as the colour of their infamy, are the fifth-columnists of Britain, puppets and dupes, manipulated by Britain because she wants to retain India as her store-house and power-house. These men will find that at the end of their period of usefulness they will be forgotten by the very people who beckon them to action for their own selfish ends. India wants independence, unfettered, and she means to get it. Britain will not give it to her. Other nations cannot. They can only help us to achieve freedom. Indian freedom must be won by India herself through her own fight. Any other form will be as evil as past forms have proved to be. Mahatma Gandhi has said : "Through battle alone will India be able to acquire her freedom." The battle is on ; the flag of India has been unfurled, the sons of India are rushing to place themselves under the banner. What about you, you, YOU and thousands like YOU. Make up your mind ; stand up and fight, for in fighting, in action, lies victory ; in idleness and inaction lies defeat. Victory—defeat. Two small words but the whole of India's future is involved in them. Victory requires manhood, courage, strength. You have these requisites. Offer them willingly in service of the one cause above all other causes : that of Your Motherland, India.

Bande Mataram.

ONE NATION—INDIA.
ONE ENEMY —ENGLAND.
ONE GOAL —INDEPENDENCE.

THE WAR FOR FREEDOM OF ASIATIC NATIONS

PREFACE

The war for the freedom of Asiatic nations is in full swing. The wiping out of Anglo-American domination of East Asia is nearly complete. The hour of India's liberation is at hand. Japanese armed forces have literally smashed their way through Anglo-American defences all the way from Hongkong and Manila to Rangoon and Mandalay. They are now on India's eastern frontiers and will not halt until the Anglo-American bases in India have also been shattered.

India wants complete independence. Britain rejects this demand with contempt and at the same time coerces India to fight on Britain's side and perpetuate India's own slavery.

What, then, is India's duty at this most critical moment in her history? The answer is given by Mr. Rash Behari Bose, the veteran leader of Indians in East Asia, and an exile in Japan for over quarter of a century. Mr. Bose has had exceptional opportunities of furthering India's cause of independence. He knows the minds of Japanese statesmen as no other Indian can claim to. Thus, when Mr. Bose interprets Japan's attitude towards India, his pronouncements deserve an attentive hearing and the most careful study on the part of Indian nationalist leaders who are fighting the battle for India's freedom.

Here are reproduced the series of broadcasts which Mr. Rash Behari Bose made from Tokyo in the months of March, April and May of this year. In these broadcasts

Mr. Bose addressed himself to the Indian Nation, to Mahatma Gandhi, to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and to other Indian leaders, and bared his heart to them.

A few of the most striking passages in his broadcasts are quoted below :—

“Japan's Premier has already twice declared to the world that Japan's enmity is toward Britain, and not toward India. Japan wants to destroy British power and influence, but she does not wish to retard India's progress toward complete independence. She rather wants to accelerate that progress. She believes, and she is right in her belief, that by destroying British power and influence, she can really accelerate the establishment of Indian independence.

TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE

Indian Brethren,

For the past fifty years our brethren at home and abroad, sacrificing themselves in thousands, have fought against British tyranny with the object of making India of the Indians and of Asia. Unfortunately, unharmed as we were and are still, we could not achieve our objective up to now. To-day, however, Japan's holy war for the destruction of the Anglo-American power, influence and domination and for the establishment of Greater East Asia's sphere of mutual prosperity, is affording us the best possible chance to attain our long-cherished goal of Indian freedom.

Indian brethren, let us, under the guidance and protection of Divine Will, liquidate all our past connections with Britain, attaching ourselves to such lofty ideals as “action without attachment” (*Anasaktā Karma*) of Sri Krishna, “Sacrifice of self” (*Anātman*) of Lord Buddha, the great truth of Allah of Islam and teachings of Guru Govind Singh and Satyagraha of Mahatma Gandhi. Let us rise as one man. We are deeply impressed by the action of the Indian

soldiers in Hongkong and Malaya, who have come over to Japan's side and are fighting to drive out British power with the aim of making India of the Indians and Asia of the Asiatics, and we desire you all to get up at this moment and do your duty.

Bande Mataram.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

Tokyo
16-2-42.

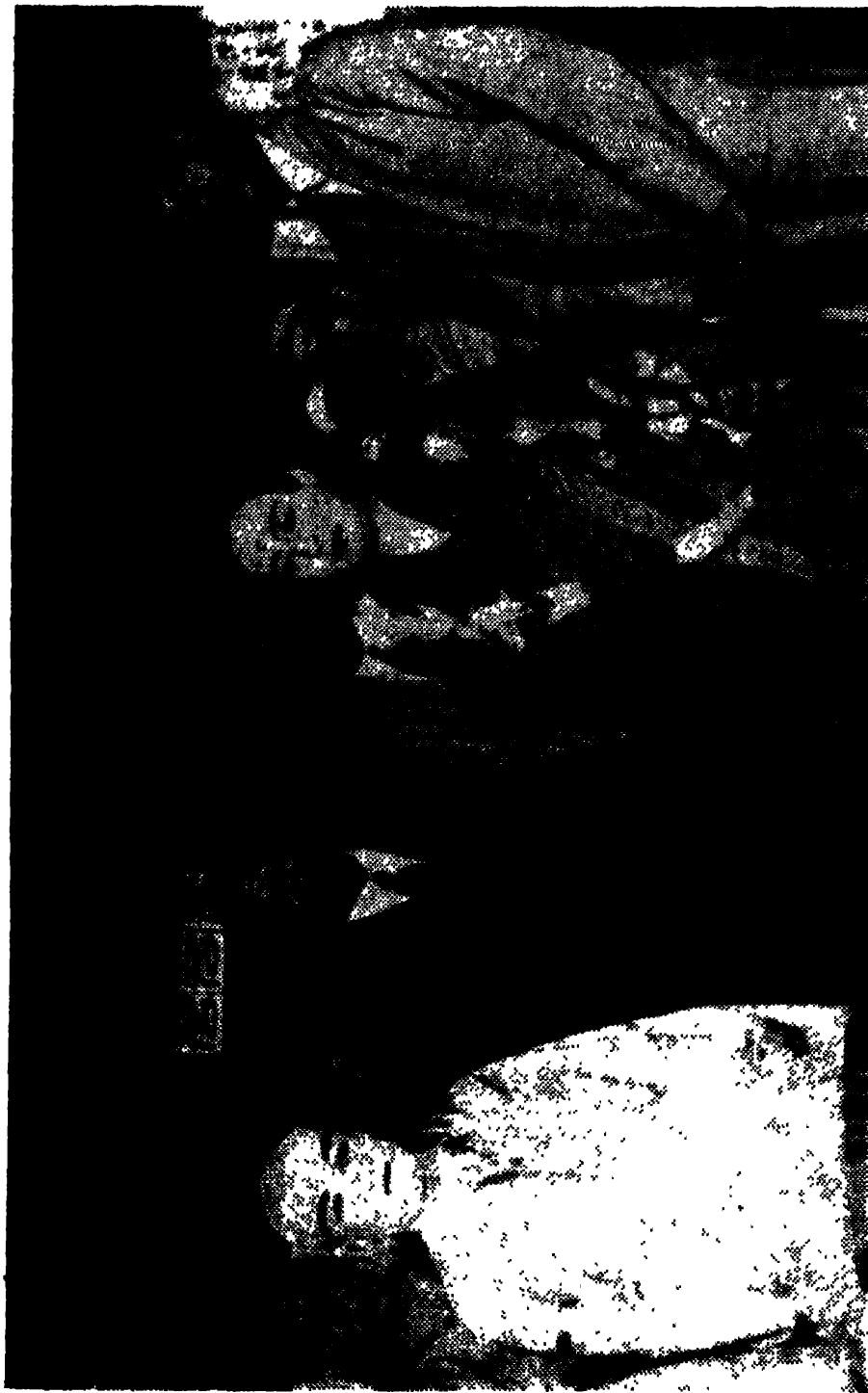
TO THE INDIAN NATION

I, Rash Behari Bose, representing the Indians living in East Asia, pay my homage to you.

You are a nation, the charms of whose culture and the brilliance of whose past, I have no words to measure. Yours is a race which descends from the very Gods in Heaven, and you have a mission, the fulfilment of which is a necessity in the Diving scheme.

For ages you continued to be aware of that mission and fulfilled it to the best of your ability. But a period of trial came for you, from which you are now about to emerge with triumph. Even to-day when I hear you being praised by the gallant Japanese people for your sustained but unequal fight against armed British oppression, my heart becomes filled with pride and joy. And I take this opportunity to assure you that the day is not far off, when your efforts will be crowned with success, when the sacrifices of thousands of Indians will come to fruition and you will be free from foreign bondage to carry out your Heaven-ordained mission.

Next, I must pay homage to all those Indians, some of



Budhist monks receives Shri Rash Behari Basu at Rangoon, Burma.

them known and honoured by their countrymen but most of them "unwept, unhonoured and unsung," who, since India lost her freedom to the British, have individually and collectively made an offer of their lives to regain it. Specially my gratitude is due to those soldiers of Indian freedom, and their leaders, both Hindus and Muslims, who fought in the war of 1857. I am also grateful to those Indian revolutionaries who, in the decade following the war, took up arms and fought against the British rule, staking their lives and their all in the sacred fight. They died in thousands without unfortunately having attained the end of their journey. But may their souls rest at peace in the knowledge that the chance which did not come during their life time, has been afforded us by Japan's war on England and America !

Then my gratitude is also due to those leaders of Indian awakening due to whose untiring and selfless efforts, modern India has come to realise her position in the world and her mission for it. Let me begin with Raja Ram Mohan Roy, followed in the chronological order, by Debendra Nath Tagore, Keshub Chandra Sen, Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Dayananda, Syed Ahmed Khan, Justice Ranade, Raja Sri T. Madhao Rao, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ram Thirtha, Poet Rabindranath Tagore, and others to all of whom I bow my head in salute. May their spirits guide me in my present undertaking.

Lastly, let me offer my gratitude to those pioneers and leaders of the Indian National Congress, owing to whose able guidance, the Congress is now able to shoulder the responsibility of India's fight for freedom from within. To such leaders as Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, Lokamanya Tilak, Gokhale, Bepin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel, and others, my homage is due. May they, from the other world, shower

their blessings upon me in my present undertaking, which is nothing but to make India of the Indians and Asia of the Asiatics.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo,
9-3-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

To Sri Aurobindo
SALUTE TO SRI AUROBINDO,

This is a salute to him to whose inspiring call owes the birth of positive Indian nationalism. Sri Aurobindo is the foremost of those seers of Indian nationalism, who are still hale and hearty and due to whose burning speech and thundering pen, patriotism came to have a fresh and profound meaning for modern Indians. To him this salute is offered.

If spiritual culture is granted to be the soul of Indian nation, then Sri Aurobindo is a living embodiment of it. He has succeeded in measuring the depths of its mysteries, which are as old as the Indian nation itself. Today he is seen leading a life of silence in communion with God, having fully realised that silence is the precursor of mighty creation. This salute is offered to him.

Sri Aurobindo's faith and ways of searching after the ultimate truth accord well with the faith and ways of the noblest of Sufis, the mystics of Islam. And in the eyes of hundreds of millions of Hindus he is a Yogi of a very high order. Thus, in him is seen harmonized the essence of those two noble faiths, Hinduism and Islam, on the balanced fusion of whose spirits depends the rejuvenation of future

Indian culture and the re-establishment of the future Indian State. This salute is offered to him.

Sri Aurobindo has long realised the true mission of India. According to him a free India would serve the world by preaching to it the great heritage of her spiritual culture. Today Mother India stands to be free from foreign bondage. The time seems to be ripe for Sri Aurobindo to come forward, as he did decades ago, and give us lead in the fulfilment of Mother India's national mission. This salute is offered to him with a prayer that he may respond to the call of the Mother.

This salute is offered to him in the time-honoured Indian custom of asking for the blessings of the elders and pioneers before undertaking a great and noble task. May he be pleased with my fresh determination to do my bit in the cause of making India of the Indians and Asia of the Asiatics.

I salute you, Sri Aurobindo, Bande Mataram !

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo,
11-3-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

DOWN WITH ENGLAND—
ENEMY OF HUMANITY.

To Mahatma Gandhi

REVERED MAHATMAJI,

I, Rash Behari Bose, representative of Indians now living in East Asia, regard you as the sole leader of the

Indian nation, and have no hesitation in saying that the fate of the Indian nation is secure in your hands.

In the first place, by propounding and following the principle of "satyagraha" (Truth-assertion) and by trying to make the whole nation live up to it, you have shown yourself to have inherited the best and noblest in Indian ethics and history. I have no doubt that, in setting up the principle of "Satyagraha" as the rallying point for Indians of all classes, creeds and sects, you have shown a rare specimen of leadership. For, at a time when you appeared on her political stage, India could rely on no other guiding principle than "Satyagraha" to overcome the dangers arising from sectarianism, religious conflicts, social and economic inequality, and above all, foreign tyranny.

Thousands of years ago, India faced almost the same situation, and at that time she was saved by Lord Krishna who set up the principle of *Anasakta Karma* (action without attachment) which still shines as a guiding star, and will continue to shine for ages to come. I find no difference between Lord Krishna's *Anasakta Karma* and the principle of "Satyagraha."

Then centuries later, came Lord Buddha, who also found India in a similar situation. And he, too, succeeded in steering clear the course of her destinies by preaching the doctrine of *Anatman*, that is, "submergence of self." In my judgement, that great doctrine is also akin to the principle of "Satyagraha."

Then some more centuries followed, and the great Prophet was born in the land of Arabia. He identified Truth with Allah, and asserted that it must be upheld under any circumstance. His followers came to India, bringing with them their faith and their culture. It seemed as if they could not reconcile their faith and culture with the faith and culture of the inhabitants of the land. Although Truth was the same yet the minds of men perceived it differently. For them, I believe, the principle of "Satyagraha" is the only

eye-opener, through the conscientious practice of which, both Hindus and Muslims, can live as one national community, while yet following their different faiths.

In conclusion, I may say that the principle of "Satyagraha" is the essence of all great religions and antidote to sectarianism, dogmatism and demagogy. India's national mission lies in turning this principle into a living force. But she cannot accomplish it unless she achieves complete freedom from British rule. I have, therefore, decided on this occasion to contribute my quota to the cause of making India of the Indians, and to cooperate with Japan whose objective in the present war of Greater East Asia is to make Asia of the Asiatics. I shall be greatly pleased to receive your blessings in my present undertaking. May God show you the proper way to lead India to complete freedom, so that she may, through her activity as a free nation, be a living example of the functioning of the great principle of "Satyagraha".

Bande Mataram

Tokyo,
13-3-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

INDIANS! UNITE TO BE FREE

To the Dear Revered Indian Nation and to the
Nationalist Leaders of India.

At this great turning point in the world's history, when the once proud empire of England is on the verge of collapse under the severe blows of Japan and her allies, it is natural that Anglo-Indian relations should acquire a special interest in the eyes of the world.

To keep war away from India, has been England's main line of policy. And to make this policy effective, she unscrupulously robbed the independence of the countries

bordering on India. It is her traditional policy to divide and rule others, and in this respect she played the game well, not only in India by setting one community against another, but in the world's politics also, she adopted this reprehensible tactics to maintain her world supremacy. These tricks, however, are out, and in consequence today she is no more able to maintain her far-flung empire, which is being dismembered before our very eyes.

At such a time it is absolutely necessary that we Indians should reflect first on the pernicious effects the British rule has hitherto produced in India and, secondly, to find out means of destroying this rule and thereby making India of the Indians and of Asia.

Two hundred years ago England was a small Power. Economically, militarily, spiritually, and materially, she was inferior not only to India but to most of the countries of Asia. But two hundred years later England became a first class power in the world. Her children came to live a most luxurious life, to wear most extravagant dresses, to eat the best delicacies and live like lords. How could this be possible? This was possible only because England could most ruthlessly exploit India. The story of her exploitation of India is a story of horror. In geometrical progression, as England became rich, India became poor, a vast majority of her children being on the verge of starvation. If this exploitation continues any further, there is not the least doubt that the Indian nation will be a thing of the past. Mahatma Gandhi recently said, "Britain has committed great crimes against India." I should go a step further and say that Britain has committed great crimes against all humanity by her aggressiveness and exploitation not only in India but in other parts of the world as well. In a word, Britain is the enemy of humanity, and the sooner she is destroyed, the better for mankind and world peace.

But, I like to warn you again, Oh Indian brothers and leaders of Indian nationals, against Britain's old tricks. She

is now sending Sir Stafford Cripps to India to deceive the Indian nation. Be not befooled this time. Do not forget the story of the last European war. India made enormous sacrifices for helping Britain win that war. In lieu of her sacrifices England promised India self-rule. But, what did India get? India got martial laws and Jalianwalla Baghs. Thousands of unarmed and peaceful Indians were mercilessly killed and many of them suffered mutilation. Open the pages of the Martial Law Report of 1919 and there you will find the most copious description of the outrages perpetrated by the British satraps. This was how England kept her promise.

The Government of India Act of 1935 is another instance of how Britain is unwilling to concede the rightful demand of the Indians for complete national independence. I need not produce any more instances, which you all know. Then do not entertain any proposal that Sir Stafford Cripps may bring to you. Remembering the fate of those countries which were persuaded, cajoled and finally brought to help her in the present war, refuse resolutely to get entangled in Britain's ruinous plans. Britain is on the last legs of her glory and there is no chance of her come-back again. Do not therefore cast your fate with her. Firmly and resolutely, rise up and fight your way to liberty, which can never be a gift from anybody. From this end, we promise you to do everything in our power to help you in your fight. Let us all be prepared to pay the required sacrifice and wrest from Britain our national freedom. I again warn the Indian nationalist leaders not to be taken in at this fateful moment by Sir Stafford Cripps or any other representative of the British Government.

Tokyo,
16-3-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

To Mr. Jinnah

REVERED JINNAH SAHEB :

I, Rash Behari Bose, representing the Indians now, living in East Asia, believe that gratefulness is the essence of human culture. And, therefore, I take this opportunity of addressing to you a few words of gratitude.

Years ago, when the Indian National Congress and the nationalist movement sponsored by it, were still in infancy, so to speak, you were one of those few Congressmen whose fiery nationalism was the subject of admiration among the Indian public. Your services to the Indian nation, as a nationalist and as a Congressman, I fully acknowledge on behalf of the Indian residents of all East Asia, and as an Indian, I am greatly thankful to you for them.

At present as the President of the Muslim League, you are looked up to, at home and abroad, as the leader of the vast masses of Indian Muslims. I am, however, reluctant to regard you as a leader of only a section, however big and important it may be. In my eyes you are still the same old Jinnah of years ago, who thought, spoke and moved as one of the leaders of the whole Indian nation. And I pray to Allah that may these words have their true meaning for you, and may you decide once more to emerge as a leader, not of a single section, but of all sections of the Indian nation.

Today, with the opening of the war of Greater East Asia, the course of Asiatic history has come to an important turning point. Especially, the future course of India's destiny seems to occupy the centre of world interest. At such a moment, should India continue to waste her inherent national energy in internecine strifes? Or, should she liquidate them for good and put up a united front to face the future? The whole of East Asia today stands to throw off the century-old yoke of Anglo-Saxon control. A great movement with a deep historic significance is afoot to make Asia

of the Asiatics, and in accordance with its tendencies, India is called upon to be India of the Indians.

But India can never be India of the Indians unless her sons, both Hindus and Muslims, begin to identify service to the nation with service to their respective Gods. This they can do easily, if they but decide to do it. For, if truth be regarded as the essence of religion, and if truth be the same everyone and at all times, then there is no reason why the followers of Hinduism and Islam should fall out on religious matters. A great mission awaits you, Janab Jinnah, in this connection. May Allah prove Himself to be your guide, and may you be inspired by Him to carry out this mission! On behalf of the Indians living in East Asia, I assure you that we are all awaiting your emergence once more as a national leader.

HINDUSTAN ZINDABAD

Tokyo,
16-3-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

LONG LIVE INDIA—INDIA FOR INDIANS

To Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

REVERED PANDITJI:

At a time when the far-flung Empire of England in the East is being rapidly dismembered as a result of the war of Greater East Asia, and at a time when that war is fast approaching the very gates of India, it is natural that the attention of the whole world should be riveted on nationalist India, and especially on the final stand it is going to take under your leadership. The day-to-day attitude of

nationalist India, which is manifested in the utterances you make from time to time, is not only eagerly waited upon by the press of the world, but is also the centre of interest of diplomatic circles in various capitals. With the Dispatch of Sir Stafford Cripps to India, which certainly has no other meaning but to persuade India to get involved in the war, the importance of the Indian problem has suddenly increased in proportion. Naturally, the whole world, especially we Indians abroad, are waiting with interest and anxiety to see the outcome of Sir Stafford's visit to India.

Personally, however, I think it fortunate for the Congress and for India, to have chosen you as the leader at this critical juncture. Mahatmaji, too, I believe, has shown another instance of his depth of vision, by declaring you as his successor, even during his life time. My faith in you is based upon sound reasoning. You were the first Congress President, due to whose influence the Congress did away with Dominion Status as its ultimate goal, and substituted it with complete Independence. By claiming that the defence, foreign policy and finance of India, must have nothing to do with British control, you made it clear as to what constitutes the substance of independence. And, when recently you were reported to have said that independence cannot be accepted with conditions as a gift, but must be won as a prize for itself, I felt confident that you would guide India safely through the impending crisis.

And yet, times being as critical as they are, a slight mistake is liable to ruin the destiny of a nation. I cannot but feel like dilating upon the dangers besetting your path. In the first place, I wish to warn you that the star of England is now setting, and no amount of outside help can save her from doom. In other words, whether India actively comes to her support or not, England is not going to win this war. Conversely speaking, whatever might befall England for losing this war, might befall India also if she fights on her side. Invasion, and all that follows in its wake, will be the

sure lot of India, if she allows herself to be cajoled into England's war. Now, the only way to escape from it lies in firmly rejecting any offer that England may make through Sir Stafford Cripps, or any of her other representatives, and to refuse to the end to co-operate with her.

Rather start civil disobedience immediately, which is the only weapon left to you under the prevailing circumstances. The circumstances preventing us from offering you our help from this end in your last civil disobedience movement are no more. Today we are in a position to contribute our full mite to the success of any movement that may be started by you. Thank Heaven, and thanks to the War of Greater East Asia, that we are able to do this. On behalf of the Indians in East Asia, my only prayer to you at this moment is that you realise that the doom of the British Empire is a historic necessity, and the rise of a free India as a member of the Asiatic comity of nations, is the wish of Providence itself.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo,
18-3-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

To Sri Savarkar

VENERABLE VINAYAK RAOJI SAVARKAR,

In greeting you, I am filled with a sense of relief, for two reasons. One is that, in greeting you, I am carrying out my duty to a senior as well as a comrade in spirit. The other is that through you I am greeting the very spirit of sacrifice itself.

While thus addressing you, my mind involuntarily goes back to the India of forty years ago. Our nation was in a great upheaval then. To quote your own words, "the whole country from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean was turned into a sacred altar, and a great sacrificial flame was lit on it." You vowed then that you and your whole family were meant for an offering in that sacrificial flame. But Providence proved exacting in your case. Before your revolutionary activities could bear fruit you were called upon to witness the sacrifice of your family and all your dear ones in pursuit of the national cause. Undaunted by this, you still continued to devote your thought, speech and action to the achievement of nothing but complete national independence, and your faith in the cult of armed revolution acquired fresh strength.

But Providence was not fully satisfied and before your revolutionary activities could bear fruit, you were hurled into the dreaded prison of Andamans for two consecutive life imprisonments, from which your escape alive seemed impossible. The ways of Providence, however, are inscrutable and after a stay of fourteen long years in prison you were released by the British authorities, due to a severe illness on your part. I have no doubt, that you must have borne all your sufferings and privations during those long years, with the conviction that you were living a life the plan of which had already been chalked out for you by Providence itself.

Your coming out of prison alive, I regard as a case of your re-birth. I cannot but see a sign of Divine intention in it. Forty years ago, you did your duty to the nation, as the then prevailing conditions demanded it. Today India is facing altogether different world conditions. Moreover today is the most critical time in her history, which demands firm faith and depth of vision on the part of her leaders. By asserting that India's foreign policy must be formed irrespective of ideological complications, you have again proved your mettle as a leader of great calibre. By asserting that England's

foe must be regarded as India's friend, and her friend as India's enemy, you put the whole foreign policy of present day India in a nutshell. Then credit also must be given to you for having preached another formula of late, which is nothing but that "England's difficulty is India's opportunity."

I believe that time was never more opportune than now to translate these formulae into action, and I invite you, Savarkarji, to realize this and do the needful. Please do not let your vision be blurred at this critical moment. That England is in extreme difficulties must be known to you. That England's difficulty offers the golden chance for Indian independence, must also be known to you. Then, according to your own logic, Japan and her Allies, being England's enemies, are India's friends. As regards Japan, she has already placed her cards on the table with regard to India. When Premier General Tojo stated in the Diet session that Japan would not withhold any help for India in her efforts to be India of the Indians, and to regain her due position in the comity of nations, he meant every word of his statement.

I have, therefore, decided to mobilize all my Indian brothers in East Asia in a supreme effort to strike at the fetters that have hitherto reduced our Motherland to a state of national slavery. But, I know that I shall not succeed in my attempt unless yourself and other leaders at home support me at the right time. Please note that in supporting me, you will not be supporting an individual, but the cause of national independence, which has been, and is, so dear to your hearts. Did you all not live to see the success of this cause? Then, would you fail now when the long-awaited chance for its success has fallen into our very laps, with the opening of the War of Greater East Asia?

The disasters that befell the British power in Malaya, Burma and Borneo, clearly indicate that the fate of the British Empire is definitely sealed. At this stage, Britain

may offer all kinds of temptations to Indians—she might even offer independence. But please do not accept even independence if it would involve India in a war with which she has got nothing to do. For, fighting on the side of England in a war in which Britain is sure to lose, would mean for India all that accrues from a military defeat.

Then, again, India has nothing in common with England. But, with Japan she is culturally united. Then, why side with England in a war against Japan? Rather why not side with Japan and destroy the British power which alone is responsible for the present miserable state of India? Then, please do not ignore the case of the thousands of Indian soldiers, whose patriotism, and whose hatred against the British, impelled them voluntarily to surrender to the Japanese, and who are now burning with the desire to become soldiers of freedom. I wish to inform you on their behalf, that on your attitude and on the attitude of other leaders at home, depend much of their hopes and aspirations. Would you fail them? Or, would you accept their services and march on with them to victory? I have nothing more to request. May God guide you in the exercise of right judgement!

Tokyo,
21-3 42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

To Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

REVERED MAULANA SAHEB,

At this time when the whole world is facing a radical change in the course of its history, and when consequently the fate of our nation seems to hang in the balance, I, Rash

Behari Bose, appeal to you with respect, hopes and expectations.

The feeling of respect for you springs in me for the simple reason that in you are seen united such high virtues as patriotism, sincerity of purpose, purity of character, and devotion to God, and besides, you enjoy the confidence and respect of both Hindus and the Muslims. No wonder, I also look up to you with hopes and expectations.

I may repeat here that the manner and degree of the grave crisis now facing our country compel me to make this appeal to you. India today is standing at the cross-roads. Before her, there are two ways, one leading to perpetual slavery, and the other to eternal freedom and glory. If India supports England at this time, or, in any way co-operates with her, it will end in a state of India's perpetual slavery, regardless of whether England wins or loses this war. If she wins, then instead of granting independence, she will surely further consolidate her position there. If she loses, then her enemies will treat India in the same way as they would treat England—perhaps still worse. Moreover, after having struggled for freedom for more than 80 years, and if you Indian leaders were to give it up at a time when final victory is in sight, you would not only betray the trust of the living Indian masses, but also the trust placed in you by the large number of martyrs who died in the sacred cause. I, therefore, wish to remind you, revered Maulana Saheb, that whether the Indian Independence Movement should end in glory or in ignominy entirely depends on your decision and that of your colleagues. If you all think that it should end in glory, then the only way left to you is to fight the enemy to the end, instead of co-operating with him.

Under any other circumstances, I would not have ventured to make this appeal. But England's wiles being what they are, and seeing that she has sent Sir Stafford Cripps, known for his so-called sympathetic view of India, to induce you all into co-operation in her war efforts, I decided to give

vent to my voice, even at the risk of your displeasure. Sir Stafford Cripps may have a soft corner in his heart for India. But he has come to India, not as an individual, but as a representative of the British Cabinet. I need not remind you that under the bureaucratic system of Government, which is England's, an individual, however well meaning and sympathetic towards a certain cause he may be, cannot do full justice to his feelings and convictions. Granted that Sir Stafford Cripps as an individual would like to see India free, can he, in the capacity of a Cabinet Minister, grant freedom to her regardless of the wishes of his other Cabinet colleagues and the members of both Houses of British Parliament? Knowing this fact fully well, why agree to waste your precious time in useless conversations with him? Why not receive him the way you received the Simon Commission a decade and half ago?

Why not start Civil Disobedience right away? Why not spread it this time even up to the barracks of the Indian soldiers? Or, if all these things are impossible, please stick to your guns and sit tight. That also will be of great help to us, who, from this end, are planning to do our utmost, in co-operation with Japan, to destroy the British power in regions bordering on India and in India.

But please do not in any case take sides with the British, confront your own countrymen and spill the blood of those who are filled with but one idea *i.e.* to make India of the Indians in every sense of the term.

Japan has a full understanding of our purpose and aim, and has declared through her Premier, General Tojo, that she is prepared to offer any help to the Indians in their efforts to come into their own. I can assure you that she will abide by her pledged word, if only you do not take sides with England and help her in her war against Japan.

Appealing to you once more to stick to your fixed policy of refusing to participate in any imperialistic war of England, Revered Maulana Saheb, I, at the same time, pray to God

to grant you sufficient strength to lead the country to independence and security.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo,
24-3-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

“ENGLAND’S DIFFICULTY—
INDIA’S OPPORTUNITY”

To Sri Rajagopalachari

VENERABLE CHAKRAVARTI RAJAGOPALACHARI,

“Whatever is invested with power, glory or splendour, has Divinity behind it,” says Lord Krishna in his “Song Celestial.” And wherever Divinity is found, there due homage must be paid to it. Accordingly, I, Rash Behari Bose, pay my homage to you, revered Rajaji, in the name of all Indians now residing in East Asia.

From a study of your political career, I have come to regard you as one who faithfully follows the doctrine of “*Nishkama Karma*”, or action without attachment, and whose devotion to a noble cause can be set as a model for others. Besides, you possess a high degree of intellectual wealth hardly surpassed by others, and I am proud to have you as a leader. It is for this reason that I utter these words for your consideration.

Revered Rajaji, times are greatly changed. What seemed but yesterday almost impossible, is seen to come to pass to-day. The proud and haughty England of yesterday, is no more so. Defeat in the War of Greater East Asia, each more disastrous than the preceding one, has shorn her of all the

haughtiness and pride, with which, until only recently, she used to trample down, not only the interests, but also the very nationhood of weak and coloured races. The factors which helped her in doing so, when her star was rising, are the same factors contributing to her downfall now when her star is setting. With Japan's co-operation in the last world war she was able to suppress the national aspiration of India. But to-day, fortunately for the Indians and unfortunately for England, she is facing a formidable enemy in Japan. Up to now she could usurp the independence of weak nations with impudence, and thus grow into a vast empire, because she could depend on the servility of the Indian soldier, who readily offered himself as cannon fodder. But to-day, thanks to the influence of the Congress, the Indian soldier has become nation-conscious, and in surprisingly large numbers is flocking to the cause of this country's independence. The number of such soldiers, who have deserted the British side, and are now waiting for orders to face their former masters in the battlefield, now runs to tens of thousands. Perceiving these facts belatedly, England has now come to realise that her treatment of the Indian problem hitherto has not been fair. It is this realization which lies behind the despatch of Sir Stafford Cripps to India. Rumours have it that Sir Stafford has up his sleeves an offer of independence to make to the Indians, on condition that they share with England the burden of parrying the Japanese thrust. But, if England to date has been unfair toward the Indian aspirations by withholding independence from India, then by granting her such independence which will involve her in a losing war against Japan, toward whom she has no reason to be hostile, England is going to be cruel to her.

I have no doubt that you have a clear idea of what would befall India if she takes sides with Britain and goes to the battlefield. Besides everything that would follow in the wake of invasion, she will herself have sown the seeds of international enmity between herself and Japan, which

may spell calamity for the cause of Asia as a whole. I say this because I firmly believe that mutual relations between India and Japan, and mutual co-operation between them, is the primary condition for the birth of a neo-Oriental thought, philosophy and science.

Sir Stafford may try, if he finds all other means failing him, to involve India in various undesirable complications. But I have faith in you and your colleagues, and therefore, request you all not to let your vision be blurred by ideological chimeras, and to set independence without international complications alone as the guiding star on your present perilous journey.

The way toward ultimately securing complete independence without any complications lies only through the immediate calling of the civil disobedience movement. Because, it is the only sort of Government which can afford to eschew all international complications. And, this time, I assure you that your movement shall not fail. Please regard us, the vast masses of Indians now living in different parts of East Asia, as your reserve forces. Please trust us ; and in return for that we assure you that we shall not fail in our duty to support your movement in each and every way possible, until British power in India is completely destroyed and national independence fully restored.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo
27-3-42

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

Loyalty to Flag and Country.
Duty, Love and Affection towards Father,
Mother, Brothers, Sisters, Elders, Young-
sters, Neighbours, Countrymen and Peoples
of the World.

THE APPROACHING MOMENTOUS A.I.C.C. MEETING**APPEAL TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE**

This monograph contains three appeals that Mr. Bose, President of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League, made to the people of India through radio broadcasts from Thailand, on the 28th July, 1st August and 5th August, 1942. These appeals were made, keeping in view the then approaching momentous meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on 7th August, 1942 which was to arrive at far-reaching decisions.

Broadcasting from Thailand on Tuesday, the 28th July, 1942, he addressed the Indian Nation as follows :—

Friends,

The hour has struck. We must now break the shackles with which the British had bound us hand and foot. For long, we have suffered the tyranny of the worst type of domination. All our sufferings must now come to an end and India must be free.

During the two centuries of British rule, our sacred Motherland has been reduced to a state of utter poverty and helplessness. Before the advent of the British, for four thousands of years our country had held up the beacon light of civilisation to the rest of the world.

We had contributed to the peace, progress and prosperity of humanity, in a large measure. India was then known to the world as the land of plenty and perfection. India was then the seat of the world's learning and culture. The fame of Indian handicrafts echoed in the far corners of the globe.

But, in two centuries of British rule, our flourishing industries have been mercilessly destroyed ; our popular educational systems have been sedulously wiped out ; enlightened

India has been reduced to the state of a home of illiterates ; our far-famed national wealth has been constantly drained out of our country. The Indian masses, that is the teeming millions of Indian peasantry, have been reduced to a state of starvation and chronic indebtedness.

DEVASTATING EFFECTS

The effects of British rule on our cultural and spiritual life have been the most devastating. Here in Thailand, we are reminded at every step of the great influence of India's cultural and spiritual heritage on India's neighbours. Even in far-off Japan, Indian culture is still flourishing. But, in India itself Britain has compelled the Indians to neglect and forget their great national heritage.

British imperialist exploitation has robbed us of our most valuable treasures. We have been made to lose everything of which we were justly proud.

"INDIA HAS NOT LOST HER SOUL"

India has lost everything but she has not lost her soul. Centuries of oppression and exploitation have not been able to kill her soul. India has awakened and we are now conscious of our great loss. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, Indian awakening in the last few decades has been phenomenal. Through his action and teachings, Mahatmaji has made us realise that the root cause of our degradation and degeneration is our cultural and spiritual enslavement.

Mahatmaji has convinced us that, unless we Indians regained our confidence in our own culture, and unless we learned to rely upon our own strength, we could never stand up for ourselves and defy our mighty oppressors. He has laboured for the last twenty years and India's millions have been trained along these lines. You in India, of course, know all these better than I do.

READY FOR FINAL BATTLE

Every one of us knows that India is now ready for the final battle. At last the time has come for the final trial of strength. Mahatma Gandhi has sent his historic ultimatum to the British to recognise India's independence immediately. It will be the happiest day for India if this national demand is accepted by the British.

But I have my own doubts about it, as you too undoubtedly have. History clearly records the fact that the British do not understand the language of reason and justice. We, therefore, have to be prepared for the inevitable struggle. Let us not forget that our national salvation lies in fighting this battle under Mahatmaji's leadership with all the grim determination that we can command.

POSITION OF JAPAN

I am in a position to assure my countrymen once again, that Japan will not invade India unless she is compelled to do so, to destroy British bases of operations in India. One thing is certain. The British will have to leave India anyway.

If we can oust them ourselves, we can spare our country the horrors of war.

We have seen the havoc created by the British in Malaya, Burma and elsewhere in their retreat before the valiant Nippon forces. It is certain that the British will adopt the same dastardly tactics in India when they are forced to leave our country as a result of their defeat before the Nippon forces.

They will destroy our homes and hearths, loot our property and inflict unthinkable sufferings on millions of our countrymen before they flee the country. It is the solemn duty of every Indian to avert such a calamity, and this can

be done if Indians themselves succeed in driving away Britain from India immediately.

I, therefore, earnestly appeal to our compatriots at home to rally round Mahatma Gandhi in his campaign to compel the British to leave India immediately

SINK ALL DIFERENCES

I earnestly implore our great compatriots like Mr. Jinnah and others to give up their stand against the National Congress in this hour of crisis, for the sake of greater cause of India's freedom. I besecch Mr. Jinnah to keep in abeyance for the moment his demand for Pakistan and to lead the struggle for the liberation of entire Hindustan.

Our next battle must be waged on such a scale as the world has never seen before. We must not miss this golden opportunity. We must realise that, if we fail to act as one united nation at this most opportune moment, our fate will be sealed for ever.

We Indians in East Asia are keenly alive to the seriousness of the present situation ; and we are prepared to play our part from without. I want to assure you all that if we are compelled to act because of British stubbornness, we will do so on our own initiative ; we will march with our own men and we will depend upon your co-operation and support.

Those who will march will be your compatriots and will obey your command, and not the command of any foreign power. I want to assure you once again, most solemnly, that we in East Asia shall act only if you fail in your efforts to drive the British out of our Motherland.

Bande Mataram.

SECOND BROADCAST

Mr. Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action, Indian Independence League in East Asia, broad-

casting from Thailand on Saturday, the 1st August, 1942, addressed the Indian Nation as follows :—

Compatriots at Home !

In my last broadcast to you on July 28th, I appealed for unqualified support to Mahatma Gandhi in his coming final fight for our freedom. Let me repeat that appeal to you once again to-night with all the emphasis that I can command. I am fully convinced that the salvation of our country lies only in our rallying round Mahatmaji.

Events are moving fast and none of us knows what is in store for us to-morrow. Unless we act, and act in time and wisely, we may have to repent all the rest of our lives. Every day of indecision brings the danger nearer to us.

Let us convince Mahatma Gandhi that, in his fight for our liberty, we are with him to a man. Let us bury our differences for the sake of our beloved Motherland. Let us unite now and win our national freedom, so that posterity may not condemn us.

BRITISH WILES BEING USED

The British Government is using all its wiles to deflect Mahatma Gandhi and our national leaders from the path that they have chosen to tread. Both Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. L. S. Amery have threatened Mahatmaji with the most ruthless reprisals if he dares to launch civil disobedience.

These spokesmen of the British Government have told India and the world that India must put away all thoughts of her national freedom and merely allow herself to be turned into another battlefield between imperialist Britain, and her enemies.

If Britain and America really believed in freedom and democracy, as they so often profess, how can they justify

themselves in forcing India to fight for them against India's will ?

In her desperate efforts to drag India into her imperialist war, Britain is not only using America to intimidate the Congress but she has also invoked the name of China to excite India's sympathy. Much fuss is being made in India at the moment about Sino-Japanese conflict.

I say "the name of China" because the Chiang Kai-shek government at Chungking no longer represents the will of the great Chinese nation. There was a time when I entertained sympathy for Generalissimo. Later, I felt sorry for him. But, I have since realised that he is a mere puppet of Anglo-American imperialism, the traditional enemy of Asiatic peoples. I have, therefore, no more consideration left for such a man.

He has betrayed the trust reposed in him by the Father of the Chinese Republic, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. From my personal contact with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, I know how firmly he believed that Asia could never be free unless the British Empire was destroyed root and branch. It was also his firm belief that the British Empire could never be destroyed so long as India was under the British yoke.

Is it not shocking to see Dr. Sun Yat-sen's foremost disciple collaborating with British imperialism and urging the Indian people to give up resistance against their worst enemy and exploiter ?

INGENIOUS PROPAGANDA

It is well known that Japan's military activities in China have seen ingeniously utilised by the British to fan anti-Japanese sentiments in India. Britain has fully exploited, in her own interests, our natural sympathies for China.

But has British propaganda ever told India what exactly Japan wants of China ? The Indian people have not been told that Japan has no territorial ambitions of any kind in China ;

all that Japan seeks is the hand of China's friendship and co-operation to eliminate Anglo-American domination of East Asia and to build up a purely Asiatic bloc for mutual progress and prosperity.

It is not too late even now to end this suicidal conflict when Japan's real intentions are clearly known. And I am perfectly sure that if India were allowed to know Japan's real intentions, India's attitude towards the China conflict would be very different.

It has been the most persistent policy of the British to paint Japan as the incarnation of Satan. I am not surprised that some of my compatriots have been influenced by this pernicious British propaganda.

As I have often said, our long and bitter experience under British domination has made it difficult for us to visualise a nation that is powerful and has an Empire and yet is not imperialistic in the accepted sense of the term. But it is right time that India realised that there can be such a nation and that Japan is one such Power.

JAPAN'S ASSURANCE

Japan has repeatedly and clearly assured us that she has no intention whatever of invading India. But she has also made it sufficiently clear that if India is in danger of an invasion, it is only due to the presence of the Anglo-American forces and military bases in India.

And, if Indians could completely uproot the Anglo-American influence in their country, Japan will never interfere in Indian affairs. We are fully convinced that this is a most sincere declaration of policy and that Japan's only aim is to crush the Anglo-American power in Asia.

It is because we have not the slightest doubt on this vital point that we are preparing to render any service that you in India may need in the coming battle. We are preparing to help you to liberate and protect the land of our birth. If

still there are some of my compatriots at home who refuse to believe us, and who fail to see Japan's policy in its true light, I can only say I am infinitely sorry for our country.

I am grieved beyond measure that such friends cannot realise what the consequences will be, if India does not act at once and fight out this last battle for our independence under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership.

AN EARNEST APPEAL

I speak to you with all the earnestness I can command. I would be guilty of criminal neglect of my duty as an Indian, if I did not open my heart to you at this most critical hour in India's history.

Some of my words may not be quite palatable to a few of you at the moment. But I implore you to listen to one whose only ambition in life is to serve in his own humble way the cause of India's liberation.

This is India's hour of fateful decision. Let no Indian imagine that India could ever be safe behind the Anglo-American bayonet; let no Indian imagine that by aiding Anglo-American war efforts, India can check Japan.

If, unfortunately, India continues to harbour Anglo-American forces and actively joins Japan's enemies, then it will spell disaster to India and the innocent millions of our land will be exposed to untold sufferings. Any decision in the name of the Indian people to make common cause with Japan's enemies, will be a definite challenge and open invitation to Japan to invade our country.

FANTASTIC TALES

Now, a word about the fantastic tales of Japanese atrocities in Malaya and Burma which the British have been spreading in India and elsewhere. Believe me when I say

that the Japanese soldier is one of the best disciplined in the world.

His code of morals teaches him to be merciless to the enemy but to be most cordial and considerate to friends. During the Malayan campaign, the Indian soldiers offered little resistance to Japan and they are being treated, not as prisoners of war, but as friends.

Indian civilians in Japanese-occupied territories have been receiving the same considerate treatment. Representatives of the Indian community from Burma, Malaya and other parts of East Asia gathered in Bangkok recently. They have all borne testimony to the chivalrous conduct of the Japanese soldier towards the civilian population.

To-day, India is on the eve of the most momentous events. Let us not forget that some months have passed since the Japanese occupied Burma. The Japanese armed forces now stand on India's eastern borders.

WHY JAPAN HOLDS HER HAND BACK

We know that they can act any moment they choose to, still they are holding back and have not set foot on Indian soil. Let us not for a moment delude ourselves into the belief that, they have not crossed the Indian frontier or bombed Indian cities, because they are powerless to do so.

For heaven's sake, please do not believe that the Japanese are afraid of British war preparations in India. Let me assure you that they have more correct and detailed information regarding British defences in India than any of you may ever have.

They can even smash Britain's inadequate defences in India without as much as crossing the borders. But they are holding their hand in the hope that Indians themselves will rise and drive the alien forces out of the country and establish a free India without their intervention.

A NOTE OF WARNING

Friends, I make no apology for sounding a note of warning to you. We have reached the most critical stage in our history. One false step now will mean India's ruin and she will remain prostrate for God knows how long.

I therefore say to you : if you decide to co-operate with Britain, and India is therefore invaded by Japan, the responsibility for this calamity will rest entirely on your shoulders. I say to you once again : to have anything to do with Britain now is to board a torpedoed and sinking ship.

We have no right to condemn the four hundred million people of India to such a disaster. Mahatma Gandhi's decision is unquestionably the right decision. His plan of action alone can save India from disaster.

In the name of our sacred Motherland, I implore you all, my compatriots, to rally under Mahatma Gandhi's banner of national independence and march on to victory.

Bande Mataram.

THIRD BROADCAST

Boadcasting from Thailand on Wednesday, the 5th August, 1942 Mr. Bose addressed the Indian Nation as follows :—

Compatriots at Home :

In less than forty-eight hours, India's National Leaders will meet in Bombay. And their decision will shape the future of India for a thousand years to come.

I have chosen this moment to address you once again in view of the extreme urgency of the situation confronting your country. What we do or fail to do now, will leave its indelible mark on India's history.

Now I wish I were in your midst in India at this crucial hour. I would then have had an opportunity to place before you certain facts of the most vital importance and to plead with you in person. I do not for a moment assume that you are unaware of these facts.

India to-day is the pivotal point of the world upheaval. I, therefore, feel you would welcome first-hand knowledge of developments outside of India presented from the Indian angle. The British compel India to see everything through tinted glasses, but our decision must be based on our own analysis of world events.

BRITAIN MUST LEAVE INDIA

You will recall some of the important points I emphasised in the last two appeals I broadcast to you recently. The British must leave India anyway. If you in India fail to drive them out, Japan is determined to do it. It is Japan's inflexible resolve to smash the Anglo-American bases of military operations in India.

You will also recall that we Indians in East Asia have chalked out our own line of action in India's fight for freedom. Of course, our purpose is to supplement your efforts and we will act only with your co-operation and support. We will march with our own men, who will obey your command, and not the command of any foreign Power. In any case, we shall act only if you in India fail in your efforts to drive the British out of our Motherland.

I have not the slightest doubt that England will lose this war. Japan has driven the British out of East Asia; Germany is annihilating the British Forces in the West. No amount of American aid in men and materials will save England. She is forsaken by God and by every man, excepting Roosevelt.

And a hundred Roosevelts cannot save her. India is promised independence after the war. But there will be no

British Empire at the end of the war. If India accepts this British promise and takes Britain's side in the war, India will share Britain's fate.

DON'T ACCEPT BRITISH GIFT

Assuming for the sake of argument, that Britain will somehow win the war, even then India will fare no better. A victorious Britain will be so exhausted economically that she must continue to bleed India white for several decades to come for her own recovery.

Naturally the British will then be much more arrogant towards India than they are at present. Whether Britain will keep her promise to India is highly problematical. There is nothing in her dealings with India till now to convince us that this promise will be different from previous promises.

The British are telling us over and over again that, like America and Russia, we too must throw in our lot with them. But we must bear in mind that America and Russia may yet survive the war; they may be badly battered, but they could retire to lick their wounds. As for India, utter ruination will be the only result.

We must not accept independence from the British even if they offer it to us now. The price of that British gift will be India's active and immediate participation in the war on their side. If Britain loses the war, as she is bound to, then India's independence will be a thing of the past. Even if Britain wins, which is utterly impossible, then Britain will continue her military control over India. We have only to look at Egypt to visualise this certainty.

It is against this background of the world situation that the All-India Congress Committee is meeting in Bombay on Friday. The Congress Working Committee's decision to launch mass Civil Disobedience will come up before the All-India Committee for ratification. I have no doubt that,

with one voice, the Congress leaders will authorise Mahatma Gandhi to start this last crusade for India's independence.

BRITAIN WILL CRUSH INDIA

Britain has warned India that she will not hesitate to crush the Independence Movement. The British Government has prepared the ground most elaborately. The British have received a *carte blanche* from the American people to act ruthlessly. In the past, whenever Britain resorted to repression in India, she gave a moment's thought to American reaction; now she has assured herself of full American support in advance.

In India, Britain's loyal henchmen have been set up to vilify the National Congress and to oppose the freedom movement. Who are these men, anyway? Whom do they represent? What are their credentials to speak in India's name? None whatever.

These men are capitalists, communalists, Princes and others with vested interests. They have nothing in common with the poverty-stricken masses of India. Their only concern is for the safety of their privileged position. They are die-hards. They will not give up their privileges without a fight. They want their British godfathers to dominate India till eternity.

They are intensely self-centred. They are blind to all that is happening around them. As long as there is breath in their body, they will swear by Britain and swear at the Congress. In short, these men do not count. They will realise this grim truth sooner rather than later.

On the other hand, the masses of India are behind Mahatma Gandhi. They are determined to achieve freedom. They are ready to make any sacrifice. Mahatma Gandhi is the man of the masses. He lives for them and moves among them every day of his life and he has decided to lead them to their cherished goal.

The British know this truth and that is why they are in panic. They are only waiting for the Civil Disobedience Movement to be launched. That will be the signal for them to unleash their forces to destroy the warriors of freedom.

Friends, you will find yourselves pitched against the organised brute force of Britain and America. You will be engaged in an unequal combat. You will be called upon to make tremendous sacrifices. But I know that you will not flag or fail. If, however, you are temporarily overpowered by the combined Anglo-American brute force, you may count upon us to play our part.

EAST ASIA INDIANS READY

In all humility, I hasten to assure you that we Indians in East Asia are prepared to meet any eventuality. Even if the British overwhelm you, they will not have seen the last of India's national forces. The British are preparing to crush you; but we, sons of India in East Asia, are preparing to annihilate them. And I have no doubt that this time India must win and she will win.

Let me assure you that this is no empty boast. For obvious reasons, I am not yet in a position to reveal everything. But you will remember that Britain sent out tens of thousands of Indian soldiers to fight her imperialistic war in East Asia. To-day, these brave sons of India are still in East Asia, but, thank God, they are no longer under British control.

In the past, Britain forcibly used our soldiers to deprive weaker nations of their independence. But now, India's opportunity has come and our soldiers here have dedicated their lives to the cause of India's independence. It is the will of Providence that an Indian National Army be formed outside of India's frontiers.

They will not rest until their Motherland is free and one day you will welcome them with outstretched arms.

INDIA'S SPIRITUAL FORCE .

Friends and revered leaders, when I started my political career forty years ago, I was a firm believer in violence as the only weapon with which we could liberate India. Since then, I have watched, with intense interest, the marvellous growth of the spiritual force that Mahatma Gandhi has released.

It is this spiritual force that will be pitted against the deadliest weapons in Britain's armoury. As I have stressed time and again, this is our last battle for independence and this time we must win. If we lose this opportunity, another chance may never occur again. Therefore I say : We must be ready to meet any contingency. And I beg to assure you again that we, for our part, are ready.

Need I tell you more ? Bear with me for a while, if I tire you with my repeated appeals. I say again : Here and now is our heaven-send opportunity. We take it and we win. We miss it and we are lost forever.

Our duty at this decisive hour is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt. Our duty is not only to the four hundred million people of India, but to many more millions of the world. Britain ruled India and, through India, dominated the world. The world must be rid of this cursed tyranny. I see the hand of God in the events which are hastening the end of this tyranny. And it is India's destiny to drive the last nail in the coffin of British Imperialism.

India has a world mission to fulfil. Our sacred Motherland had a glorious past. She enriched the culture and civilisation of the entire world. It is my firm belief that India is about to regain her ancient glory and her proud place among the world's nations. It is therefore our

bounden duty to make India the India of Indians, in name as well as in fact.

Friends, in the sacred name of our dear Motherland, I implore you once again to rally round Mahatma Gandhi in the coming battle for freedom. Think of India's glorious past, her present degradation and the brilliant future that awaits her, Let us march forward with faith in ourselves and in India's destiny. Do not look back ; do not falter, go on to battle, to victory, and to complete independence.

August, 1942.

Writings on War

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT EAST-ASIA WAR

Statement issued by Mr. Bose, President, Council of Action, Indian Independence League in East Asia, on the occasion of the Greater East Asia War, December 8th, 1942 :

To-day is the first anniversary of Japan's holy war to destroy the evil forces of Anglo-Saxon imperialism in Asia, and to exterminate every trace of Anglo-American exploitation and oppression of Asiatic nations.

Grimly resolved to fulfil the inspiring command of their August Emperor, hundred million Japanese people have dedicated themselves heart and soul to the mobilisation of their total strength and to the achievement of a resounding victory.

Conscious of the tradition that their empire has never known defeat since it was founded two thousand six hundred years ago, and impelled by a spiritual force which the materialistic Anglo-Saxons can never understand, the Japanese armed forces have smashed every citadel of Anglo-American power in East Asia in a few brief months and have decisi-

vely paved the way to ensure a sphere of mutual prosperity in Greater East Asia.

This day last year, Japan declared war on Britain and the United States and, within a hour of this declaration, the Japanese Army, Navy and Air Forces struck terror into the hearts of the British and Americans by simultaneously dealing staggering blows at their farflung citadels.

The invincible Japanese army marched on from victory to victory, annihilating the entire Anglo-American forces in East Asia and capturing Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore, Burma, the Philippines, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and a number of other island possessions and naval bases held by the enemy.

Already the British Empire in East Asia has vanished ; the much-boosted American fleet has been swept out of the Pacific. The Japanese Navy dominates the Pacific and Indian Oceans and has extended its operations to the Atlantic as well ; the Japanese Army holds a twenty thousand kilometre front from the Aleutians to frontier of Assam ; and the Japanese air force reigns supreme all over East Asia and the Pacific region.

In this epoch-making war against the forces of injustice and tyranny, Japan has drawn the sword of righteousness to annihilate the Anglo-American hordes wherever they may be found in Asia ; and the Japanese nation will not lay down the sword until this sacred mission has been fulfilled.

It is a happy coincidence that, this day four months ago, our revered leader Mahatma Gandhi, gave the signal for India's final war of independence and for the total destruction of British imperialism in my sacred Motherland and for the liberation of my four hundred million compatriots.

In these four months of India's epic war against British imperialism, the nationalist forces of India have reduced the brute force of the British tyrants to sheer impotence and the Anglo-American war efforts in India have been paralysed. To-day, the British in India are panic-stricken and India,

though unarmed, is determined to fight this war against Britain to the bitter end.

As the leading power in Asia and as the resolute champion of freedom of Asiatic nations, Japan has pledged all-out aid to India, another great Asiatic nation, in its valiant struggle to liberate itself from the death-grip of British imperialism. On behalf of the Indians in East Asia, I have gratefully accepted this sincere offer of powerful assistance for the victorious conclusion of India's fight for freedom.

On this historic day which marks the first anniversary of the Greater East Asia War I, together with two million Indians in East Asia, extend our hearty congratulations to the victorious Japanese and pray for their complete victory over the Anglo-Saxon forces.

Bande Mataram.

A WAR REVIEW

A war of righteousness is always fought by clean methods, with physical valour, moral courage and divine inspiration. Japan is fighting such a war of righteousness against the Anglo-American aggressors in Great East Asia.

A war of aggression and exploitation is fought by unclean methods, with selfishness, cunning, treachery and deceit. The Anglo-American exploiters are fighting such a war of sordid imperialism to hold what they have, to grab more of the world's wealth and to enslave more peoples or the world.

In rising Germany, Britain saw the gravest menace to her undisputed domination of the world. The British promptly raised the false cry of 'democracy in danger' and inveigled trusting friendly nations into fighting Britain's war of imperialism and perishing in that futile attempt. Poland first, then France, then Belgium and the Netherlands, follow-

ed by Yugoslavia and Greece.....all these nations were treacherously sacrificed on the altar of British imperialism. All these nations fell innocent victims to Britain's treachery and deceit.

After ruining so many European nations, the cunning and self-centred British, again with hypocritical cries of the safety of freedom and democracy, stampeded the United States into throwing its weight on the side of British imperialism. The British also engineered the conflict between Germany and Russia in the hope that these two powerful nations would fight each other to exhaustion and save British imperialism from collapse. The British and Americans promised all-out aid to Russia. In April last year both Churchill and Roosevelt induced Stalin to continue the disastrous war against Germany on the definite pledge that Britain and America would open a second front in Western Europe against Germany in 1942. 1942 is out and yet there is no sign of a second front in Europe. The perfidious Anglo-Americans expect Stalin to be content with the ghost of a second front they have established in North Africa by stabbing their own former ally, France, in the back.

In East Asia, the British and Americans plotted to remove all possible threats to their exploitation of Asiatic countries by instigating Chiang Kai-shek six years ago to provoke Japan into a conflict. The selfish and deceitful Anglo-Americans provided Chungkiang Government with just enough aid to continue resisting Japan. The Anglo-American plot was to establish their domination of China more securely and, at the same time, to get China to weaken Japan. And, as for other Asiatic nations under their direct rule, the Anglo-Americans carried on a virulent campaign of lies against Japan to avert solidarity among Asiatic nations and to maintain their own political and economic grip on those nations.

Both Britain and America were determined to perpetuate their determination of East Asia and they entered

into a conspiracy against Japan. But their conspiracy held good only as against Japan and against other Asiatic nations. As between themselves, the British and the Americans were not inspired by any lofty ideals or unity of purpose. Britain wanted to use the United States to save the British Empire in East Asia from destruction, while the Americans saw in Britain's plight their long-awaited opportunity to inherit the British Empire or as much of it as possible. Thus, Britain and America committed treachery against other nations and double-crossed each other all the while.

In fighting their war in Europe as well as in East Asia the Anglo-Americans were motivated by sheer selfishness. They forced their Asiatic troops to bear the brunt of the fighting on all battle-fields—in France, in Flanders, in Greece, in Egypt, in Malaya and in Burma. The British imperialists callously sacrificed thousands upon thousands of Indian troops to face the onslaught of their powerful enemies and to cover their retreats on all these war fronts. On all these battle fronts, the cowardly British withheld heavy guns and other necessary equipment from the Indian soldiers who shed their blood to save the lives of the fleeing British. It is in this cruel and cowardly fashion that in East Asia the Indian troops were good enough to lay down their lives in their thousands to save the British and their imperialism. But these same Indians are not good enough to be free men in their own country. In the eyes of the British, these brave Indian troops were only good enough to help them perpetuate the slavery of their own motherland.

The British have won enough wars by treachery and double-crossing and somehow getting other weaker nations to do the fighting for them. They hoped that they would succeed this time also with the same mean and cowardly tactics. But these treacherous methods have proved of no avail to them, in Europe or in East Asia.

What has India to do with Britain's war which aims at perpetuating the slavery of India? What has India to

do with Britain's war whose sole aim is to continue the exploitation of all Asiatic nations, including India?

India will have nothing to do with Britain's tactics of treachery and deceit. India will have nothing to do with Britain's allies, the Americans, the double-crossers and neo-imperialists. On the contrary, India will relentlessly fight her own war against the British imperialists and the American aspirants to the British legacy in India. And India will attain her own freedom from British oppression and take her rightful place among the free nations of the world.

Bande Mataram.

THE FALL OF BRITISH VAMPIRE

The British Empire symbolises over two centuries of British crimes against humanity. And that Empire, built on rapine, murder, greed, plunder and treachery, is now crumbling to pieces. Britain will have ceased to be a power and the ill-gotten British Empire will have passed into history, when the World War is over.

This great war, which has engulfed so many nations, big and small, was deliberately started by the British, for the sole purpose of perpetuating their political oppression and economic exploitation of the weaker nations of the world. The British imperialists monopolised the raw material resources of the world and steadfastly denied all other rising Powers the right to exist. And as for the nations subjugated by the British, Britain denied them elementary justice and the slightest vestige of freedom. Thus, when Britain started this imperialistic war, she had to meet not only the might of the rising Powers in Europe and Asia but also the pent-up fury and hatred of weaker nations who had been enslaved and oppressed by the British over centuries.

With bitter memories of the Boer War still fresh in their minds, the South Africans wanted to stay out of Britain's imperialistic war. The Arab nations in the Near and Middle East, groaning under British tyranny, showed unmistakable signs of revolt against the British. India, the brightest jewel in the crown of the British Empire and the inexhaustable reservoir of manpower and materials, proclaimed to the world that Indians had nothing in common with Britain in her imperialistic war. India repudiated Britain's right to declare India as a belligerent in this war which Britain professed to fight for freedom and justice. Indians exposed to the world the hypocrisy of this British claim by withdrawing all popular support for the British Government in the country.

A wave of new hope of liberation from the British yoke swept all over India, Burma and other parts of East Asia. Britain ignored the writing on the wall. The British thought that they could continue to squeeze the Asiatic nations under their rule and get all they wanted to prosecute the war, regardless of whether or not the people of the countries concerned were opposed to participation in Britain's war. In spite of disastrous defeats on the battle-fronts of Europe and Africa, the greedy British were in no mood to relax their stranglehold on the political and economic life of the Asiatic nations who had the misfortune to be under the British flag. The British enlisted the support of Roosevelt, the American imperialist, in the hope of beating Germany in Europe and keeping all their ill-gotten possessions in East Asia.

In their greed to monopolise the wealth of the world for centuries more to come and in their overconfidence that American aid would save them again as in the last war, the British disregarded Japan's claims for her legitimate rights as the leading Asiatic Nation. The British misinterpreted as a sign of weakness Japan's desire for lasting peace through amicable negotiations with Britain and the United States. By their haughty demeanour towards a proud and

powerful nation like the Japanese, the British and the Americans brought about their own ruin in East Asia.

The ABCD encirclement which the Anglo-American Powers elaborately built up around Japan, collapsed within a few days of the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War. Japan struck out in all directions and drove out the British, the Americans and their allies from every corner of this vast region. The Americans on whom the British had pinned all their hopes, themselves suffered decisive defeats at the hands of the Japanese and every American effort to stage a come-back in the South Pacific in the past four months has been beaten back with tremendous losses to American warships and aircraft.

The British Empire in East Asia has vanished and the Americans are incapable of reconquering and restoring the lost possessions to Britain. Routed from everywhere in East Asia, the British and Americans have taken refuge in India which they have converted into a fortress of their imperialism, in spite of the uncompromising opposition of the Indian people. But in India, too, the British and Americans are having no rest. They are up against the nationalist forces of India who are fighting them on all fronts and are systematically sabotaging the Anglo-American war efforts in India.

To India, the war of Greater East Asia offers a golden opportunity to regain national independence and to build up an India for the Indians, free from centuries of British oppression. Under the far-sighted leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian Nation has resolved once and for all to root out the British rule and to attain complete freedom. And this final battle for India's independence is being vigorously waged all over the country for the past four months.

• The British know that they cannot hold out very long, even in spite of all the help they are able to secure from their American allies. That is why they are raising the desperate cry that India is faced with an imminent crisis. In raising this false cry, the British hope that they could stampede

Indians into saving them from annihilation by their enemies.

But no Indian will be misled by this false cry raised by the British. Indians realise that the crisis that the British talk about is the crisis that threatens the existence of the British in India. India and the Indian people have no reason to be alarmed, for India has no enemy in the world except Britain herself. And any crisis that threatens the British is a golden opportunity for India's liberation from British rule. Indians realise that, now or never, is their chance to destroy the British and to free their Motherland.

Bande Mataram.

WHY THIS WAR ?

A war of justice and the right to survive is sure to be won. A war of injustice, greed and aggression is sure to be lost. Japan in Asia, and Germany in Europe, are fighting the aggressor nations for a new world order based on the right of every nation to exist as an independent unit and to participate in the world's wealth on a basis of justice and fairness. Britain and America monopolised between them all available material wealth of the world and are waging this war for the sole purpose of keeping all they have, or rather, all that they had till recently. They are fighting also to deny the right of weaker nations to exist as sovereign states and to order their lives in their own way.

Japan never wanted to dominate Europe or America. All that Japan wanted was the right to sponsor a new order of Asiatic freedom and mutual prosperity for the progress and welfare of Asiatic peoples and for lasting peace in this part of the world. Enriched by centuries of exploitation of the weaker nations of Asia, and entrenched in their stronghold in India, Burma, Malay, China and the South Seas, the Anglo-Americans saw a menace to their unnatural domination of

Asiatic peoples in the rising power of Japan. The only guarantee of continued Anglo-American oppression and exploitation of Asia, estrangement and conflict between the Asiatic nations, and the only guarantee of their world supremacy was the continued enslavement of Asiatic nations.

The Anglo-American Power therefore devoted their energies to create enemies for Japan among the Asiatic nations and to forge a chain of encirclement, military as well as economic, with a view to strangling Japan. In China, the Anglo-American instigated Chiang Kai-shek to wage a suicidal war against Japan in the hope of exhausting Japan's manpower and resources. In India, Burma and Malaya, the British carried on the most venomous campaign of slander against the Japanese and painted them as a menace to the existence of all other Asiatic nations. In the South Seas and Australia, Anglo-Americans consistently provoked the Japanese by a thousand pinpricks and systematically wounded the pride of the rising Japanese Nation.

With admirable patience, the Japanese Nation restrained itself and waited and watched these demonstrations of hostility by the Anglo-Americans. Japan pleaded hard with Britain and America to desist from interfering in Asiatic affairs and to refrain from feeding Chiang-Kai-shek with war materials to prolong his fratricidal war with Japan. Japan pleaded hard with Britain and America not to place obstacles in the way of the legitimate expansion of Japanese trade and commerce within the Greater East Asia sphere where Japan, as an Asiatic country, has every moral right to live.

But, blinded by greed and impelled by lust for power, the Anglo-American imperialists mistook Japan's desire for a peaceful settlement of outstanding problems as a sign of weakness. The Anglo-American Power treated Japan's pleas with contempt and indulged in more serious provocations. The British re-opened the Burma Road to supply the Chungking Government with war materials to fight Japan. The United States abrogated her trade treaty with Japan and

later misappropriated Japanese assets in America and American possessions in East Asia. And the greedy British followed the American example in this act of international banditry. Side by side with this attempted economic strangulation of Japan, the Anglo-Americans created the notorious ABCD front in the hope of crushing Japan militarily as well.

Even in the face of this growing Anglo-American menace to the very existence of the Japanese nation, let alone Japan's legitimate aim of creating a new order in East Asia, the Japanese never wanted to participate in a war in East Asia, though they were fully confident that they could resort to arms and beat the Anglo-Americans if a war was forced on them. In a last effort to save the peace in Asia, the Japanese Government took the initiative in exploring all avenues of a peaceful settlement. Again, the United States wrecked all chances of a peaceful settlement by putting forward a series of humiliating proposals which convinced Japan that the Anglo-Americans were determined to crush Japan as a Power to maintain their domination over Asiatic nations. Thus, the Anglo-Americans left Japan with no alternative but to resort to arms to meet the challenge.

Japan's aims in this war of Greater East Asia were clearly set forth in the gracious Imperial Rescript granted by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan on the day, one year ago, when Japan launched on this holy war. The Imperial Rescript declared that this war was being fought "to ensure the stability of East Asia and to contribute to world peace, to cultivate friendship among nations and to enjoy prosperity in common with all nations". Prime Minister, General Tojo, and other Japanese statesmen have repeatedly and clearly emphasised that Japan's war aims are the complete elimination of the stiffening Anglo-American influence from this part of the world, the restoration of the freedom of Asiatic nations and their participation in a sphere of mutual prosperity.

As against these lofty ideals and noble war aims inspiring the Japanese nation, the Anglo-Americans are evading

a clear-cut statement of what they aim at achieving in this war. The nearest approach to a declaration of their war aims was the infamous Atlantic Charter issued to the world after the Roosevelt-Churchill conspiracy in mid-ocean last year. This Charter exposed to the gaze of the world the downright hypocrisy of the Anglo-Saxon claim that they were fighting this war for the freedom of humanity.

The Atlantic Charter ignored the demand for freedom of one-fifth of the human race inhabiting India, groaning under the tyrannical rule of one of the two Charters. Moreover, this infamous Charter completely ignored the demand for freedom of all other Asiatic nations whom the British had enslaved and oppressed. It exposed to the world the sordid motives of Britain and America, the one to preserve her world empire and the other to create an empire of her own.

The greed for wealth, the lust for power and the determination to keep weaker nations in bondage these are the motives that inspired the Anglo-Americans to wage this war against the Axis Powers, who ask for nothing more than living space and a legitimate share in the world's wealth.

The Anglo-Americans are fighting for imperialism and the oppression of weaker nations ; the Axis Powers are out to crush imperialism and to liberate the oppressed peoples of the world. There can be no meeting ground between the two. Anglo-American imperialism has got to be crushed and will be crushed. It is only on the ruins of Anglo-American imperialism that a new world order can, and will, rise.

Japan declared war on Britain and the United States to assure her own existence as a Power and to play her rightful part as the liberator and leader of Asiatic nations. India declared war on Britain to liberate herself from two centuries of the cursed British rule. Japan and India to-day are fighting a common enemy and for a common cause of righteousness.

India has nothing in common with the Anglo-American imperialists who are India's eternal enemies. On the other hand, India has everything in common with Japan in this war of righteousness, in this valiant struggle for the right to exist as a free nation, and to herald a new era of mutual prosperity in this part of the world.

The path of India's duty in this holy war is clear beyond doubt. This war will decide India's destiny, as it will decide the destiny of other Asiatic nations and of the world. And India must play her glorious part by joining hands with the forces of righteousness to annihilate the evil forces of Anglo-American imperialism. India must march to her pre-destined part in resurrecting the glory of India.

Bande Mataram

THIS WAR AND LAST WAR

The British Empire is crumbling. And it will be extinct before this World War is over.

Already in East Asia, the British Empire has ceased to exist. The greatest reservoir of manpower and raw materials has been wrenched out of British hands. Britain's perfidious allies, the Americans, have virtually taken over Australia, Canada and other parts of the British Empire. Even India, the brightest jewel in the British Crown, is dominated by the Americans—politically, militarily and economically. And Churchill, to quote his own words, has been reduced to the status of Roosevelt's "ardent lieutenant."

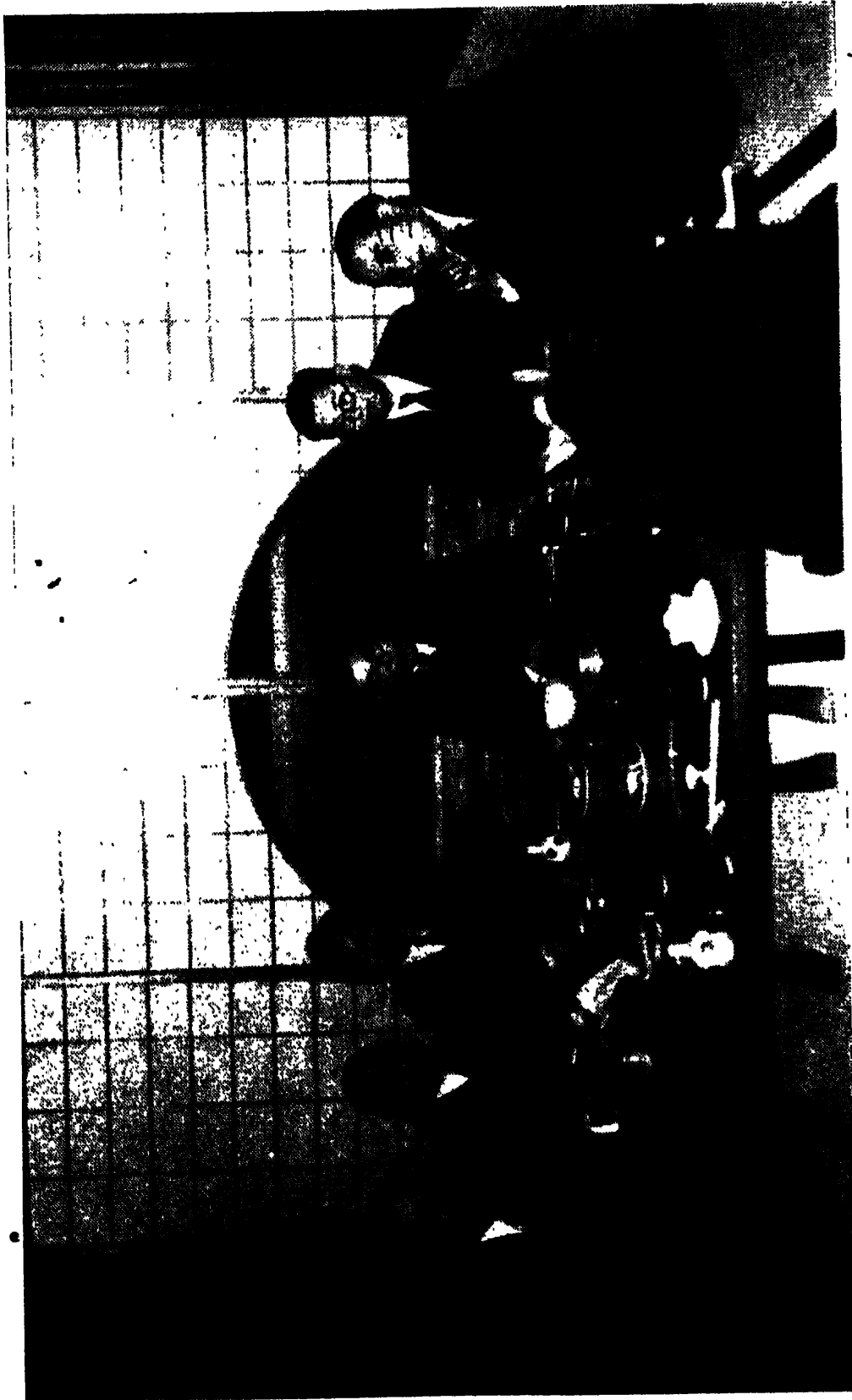
That is the plight of the British Empire to-day. And that is the humiliating position of the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

In Europe, all that Britain has lost is a distinct gain for Germany. In East Asia, the vast territories and the unlimited resources which the British and Americans have lost, are a gain to Japan in the further prosecution of the war. As

this Greater East Asia War is about to enter its second year, the Japanese have consolidated their position in the occupied territories and have made rapid strides in the development of war and material resources all over East Asia.

Last December (1941), Japan was a "have-not" country while Japan's enemies the Anglo-Americans, were the monopolist "have" countries. Moreover, the Anglo-Americans, with the help of their Chunking and Dutch allies, had erected the notorious ABCD encirclement against Japan. To-day, that anti-Japanese steel ring has been shattered and, in its place, has been raised a formidable chain of defences for the successful prosecution of Japan's war against the Anglo-Americans. Militarily, the invincible Japanese armed forces are ready to pounce on their Anglo-American enemies in their last strongholds in Asia and Japan has already built up a firm economic and strategic foundation for final victory in this war.

In striking contrast to this impregnable position that Japan has built up for herself in East Asia by expelling the Anglo-Americans and by consolidating all available resources in this part of the world, is the perilous plight of Britain and the United States. Totally deprived of the resources of their empire in East Asia and hunted out of the seven seas by Japanese and German submarines, the British are starved of foodstuffs as well as raw materials essential for war industries. The British have been hoist with their own petard. They were overconfident of starving Germany and Japan into submission by an economic blockade. To-day, however, the British are at the reserving end of the economic blockade. Japan is now in complete control of such vitally important raw materials as tin, rubber and oil in East Asia and what little England might try to get from other countries is sent to the bottom of the seas before it reaches the shores of England. Even in America, which is Britain's last hope, the scarcity of rubber, tin and a wide variety of other commodities vital for war industries is acute. Thus the balance of



A meeting of "Gachi-Hyoronshia" in honour of Shri Basu at 'UTAMARO' on the 27th Nov. 1941

raw material resources has swung heavily in favour of Japan, thus placing Japan in the most advantageous position to prosecute a long-term war.

Britain has been engaged in this World War for over three years now—over three years of continued defeats, over three years of “blood, tears, sweat and toil”, if you prefer to have it in the words of Winston Churchill. Britain to-day is exhausted beyond any hope of recovery. In this war, even in its fourth year, the Anglo-Americans are nowhere on the Continent of Europe to carry the war into Germany. In the last war, Italy was an active ally of Britain and America ; to-day, the Italians are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their German allies. In the last war, the British life-line to their Empire in India and East Asia was never once threatened but in this war, the British Navy has been swept out of the Mediterranean and Britain's communication lines with India and Australia have been elongated by thousands of miles.

Again, in the last war, the British exploited the vast manpower and material resources of India by false promises of freedom after the war. In this war, India is fighting the British tooth and nail against the draining of men and material out of India for Britain's war efforts. Indian soldiers whom the British forcibly took out of the country to defend their ill-gotten empire broke away from the British at the first available opportunity. And now, in their thousands, these brave Indian soldiers are breathlessly waiting to wreak vengeance against the perfidious British.

In the last war, the industrialists and labourers of India collaborated wholeheartedly for a British victory in the hope that the British would fulfil their solemn pledge of self-government for India. To-day, the Indian industrialists are forced to turn out war materials for the British at pistol point. And as for Indian labour, countrywide strikes have paralysed the production of munitions and war supplies for the Anglo-American armies in India. Moreover, Indian youth through-

out the country is fighting a relentless guerilla warfare and harassing the British authorities. Thus, India to-day, instead of helping the British war efforts, is fighting Britain, diverting a great deal of the Anglo-American forces from other battle-fields.

Bereft of all the allies except America that Britain had in the last war, completely deprived of the unlimited natural resources of East Asia, battered on all fronts for over three years, faced with starvation at home and reduced to the status of a third-rate power in the world, the British Empire has not the faintest hope of survival and is actually on the brink of final collapse.

Thus India's historic role at the present juncture of this World War, therefore, is to join hands with Britain's enemies who are India's friends, and to hasten the day of the final eclipse of the British Empire.

Bande Mataram.

INDIA A BLOOD BANK

Blood banks are the rage in India, at any rate with the British authorities. That is nothing surprising. The British are experts in creating blood banks all over the world and using the life-blood of other nations to transfuse new blood into the economic life of their island country.

Only lately have the British started opening blood banks in India for the transfusion of blood into the victims of air raids etc. in times of emergency. But, for two hundred years, the entire sub-continent of India has been serving as one colossal blood bank for the forty million British, five thousand miles away.

Before the advent of the British, India was the richest country in the world. To-day, India's four hundred millions have been reduced to living skeletons, to famine and poverty, pestilence and starvation under the "benign" British rule. The

British vampires have sucked the life-blood of India to rejuvenate themselves and, even after two centuries of this deadly blood-sucking, the British are still determined not to let go their deadly grip on India's throat.

Wholesale pillage was the normal business of the British East India Company in India. Loot of all visible wealth and the systematic destruction of Indian industries likely to compete with the British commercial ventures were the common devices of the British to bleed India white. After establishing themselves as the bandit rulers of the country, the British in India took on the mantle of respectability but still carried on the pillage. They continued their exploitation of India by more refined but nevertheless ruthless methods. This new phase of British exploitation of India took the subtle form of special commercial privileges, monopoly of capital industries, discriminative duties, and the throttling of Indian industries and shipping and coastal traffic. Besides all these there are even to-day payments to the British Treasury for naval defence, payments to the British army of occupation in India and the consequent obligation for enormous pensions payable to British civil and military servants. That is not all. There is the arbitrary exchange fixed between the pound and the rupee. Under this head alone, India loses two pence on every rupee remitted to England as capital of saving or in pension or salaries. By these means, the British vampires are sucking the blood of India, just as uncrupulously though not so barefacedly as did the agents of the East India Company who plundered India wholesale.

The British know that this blood-sucking is soon coming to an end. They are therefore intensifying their nefarious endeavours to extinguish India's economic life altogether. That is why the British recently misappropriated 199 million pounds of India's funds kept with England on trust. And the British have threatened to drain 60 million pounds more of Indian money before the end of the month. Not content with all these, the British vampires have been plundering

the starving Indian peasants for well over three months by extorting the so-called 'collective fines'. In the first three months of the Indian revolution, the British have plundered Indian villagers to the tune of one crore forty-five lakhs of rupees (14½ million rupees).

The British have thus mercilessly created for themselves the biggest blood bank in the world in India, where four hundred million human beings are made to bleed so that forty million Britishers may roll in luxury and dominate the rest of the world as well.

But these four hundred million Indians ought to be thankful now for small British mercies ! The British have generously come forward to open small blood banks in odd corners of India, of course with the blood that able-bodied Indians would provide, and most likely for transfusion to British victims of air raids and other incidents of war.

INDIA RULES HERSELF ?

The hypocritical British imperialists and their Indian dupes move heaven and earth to convince Indian patriots that Britain means to give complete independence to India—after the war, of course. The British freely promise also virtual independence immediately. They are so sincere about this offer that they cannot understand the unwisdom of Indian leaders who spurn such a generous offer, of course with the contempt it deserves. As proof of their sincerity, the British and their dupes point to the many ways in which the British treat India as an independent country. At least once a week, the British authorities, from the Secretary of State for India down to the Governor of a petty little province in India, point to the eleven Indian members of the British Viceroy's Executive Council as against only three British members. So, Indians are asked to believe that after all India is being governed by Indians.

On the surface, this argument is quite convincing indeed. But, scratch that surface, and you see the British hypocrisy underlying it. Quite true, eleven Indian members against three British is an overwhelming majority for Indians and the Indians must be controlling the Government of the country. Is that not virtually independence?—ask the British hypocrites.

But the vital question is: What can these poor, misguided eleven Indian renegades do against the wish of the autocratic British Viceroy and the three British members who control the defence, the finances and transportation of the country? The British Viceroy still has enough powers to ignore the existence of the eleven Indian members of his Council on all vital issues. In the name of defence in war-time, the British commander-in-chief can and does control everything from the armed forces down to the sale of salt, sugar and kerosene, the barest necessities of the poorest villager; and he can control everybody except the Viceroy.

In the name of war-time economy, the British finance member can and does control every cent of the income and expenditure of the entire country. All his eleven Indian colleagues, including Sir Feroze Khan Noon, the much-boasted first Indian Defence Member, have to go to their British colleagues with a begging bowl in hand for every cent they want for their Departments. The so-called Indian Defence Member has nothing to defend except his own cosy job and Rs. 6,000 monthly salary; in his spare time he can defend the tyrannical rule of his British masters who have given him the cosy job and Rs. 6,000 salary. The real defence of India is solely vested in the British commander-in-chief.

So much for the hypocritical British claim that India is now ruled by Indians.

How could you expect the greedy British to part with even an iota of real power to Indians? They are in India as its rulers and exploiters, and they mean to stay in India as

rulers and exploiters, that is, until Indians themselves drive the British out of India.

The British will never trust Indians with important positions for fear that one day their domination of India might be jeopardised. Meanwhile, they will go on trying to fool Indians and the world with their hypocritical talk of Indians governing their own country.

Do you want any more proof of this British hypocrisy? Here is the latest. The British Viceroy has appointed a committee to enquire into the working of the Postal and Telegraphic arrangements for the Defence Services. But, who is to be the Chairman of this committee? An Indian? Oh, Lord, no. Not by any chance. How could you expect the liberal British who have already given virtual independence to India, how could you expect these generous British to give more independence to Indians, how could you expect them to trust an Indian with a job that is even remotely connected with the defence of his own country? No, that is too much to expect of the hypocritical British. Have not the British already appointed an Indian, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, as Defence Member, although he is only allowed to inspect barracks and look after military hospitals? Even the job of enquiring into the postal and telegraphic arrangements for the defence services cannot be given to an Indian. It can only be given to a Britisher. So, it has been given to a Britisher, and to a retired official at that.

India is governed by Indians, India is virtually independent, that is, if you are taken in by British hypocrisy.

BANDE MATARAM

World Significance of Gandhiji's Fast

The following are texts of a statement and broadcast by Rash Behari Bose, President, Council of Action, Indian Independence League in East Asia, on the World Significance of Gandhiji's Fast :—

Indians all over the world are overwhelmed with joy at the news from Poona this morning that Mahatma Gandhi has successfully concluded the three weeks' fast which he had imposed upon himself as a protest against the British reign of terror in India.

Three weeks ago, when Mahatma Gandhi began this penance to rouse the conscience of the world against the British oppressors of India, he declared that he desired to survive the ordeal. At his advanced age, and with his health considerably impaired by six months of prison life, Mahatma Gandhiji's move was a source of grave concern to the Indian people and their friends all over the world, and even the doctors who attended on him expressed serious doubts as to whether he could survive.

But survive he did, and in the most triumphant fashion, thanks to the formidable spiritual force within that frail form, and to the Divine Grace of Almighty God. I consider the miraculous triumph of Mahatma Gandhi and the devastating blow he inflicted on British power in India in the past three weeks, as an unmistakable message of victory to the Indian people—a message of victory in India's battle for independence.

For nearly seven months, Indian nationalists all over the country have been waging a relentless war against the British. True to the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi's ideals, Indian patriots fought the British with clean weapons and on a nobler plan of combat. India met Britain's ungodli-

ness with godliness ; India met Britain's untruth by truth ; India met Britain's cunning and craft by frankness and simplicity ; India met Britain's terrorism and frightfulness by bravery and patient suffering. Indian nationalists exposed to the world the sheer brute force which is the basis of British rule in India. Unarmed India defied the organised violence of the British and is still defying the British.

From behind the British prison walls at Poona, Mahatma Gandhi's heart bled for his four hundred million compatriots—helpless victims of the ruthless campaign of murder and loot launched by the blood-thirsty British. And, on February 10th, Mahatmajji resorted to the only weapon at his disposal, as a prisoner of the British, to register his protest against British barbarism.

While India and the world counted the hours and days, anxiously awaiting the news of Mahatma Gandhi's condition, the heartless British remained unmoved. While India and the world hoped and prayed for Gandhi's survival, the callous British hoped and prayed for Gandhiji's death. While the entire right-thinking world expressed its sympathy for Mahatma Gandhi and India's cause the British prepared to group for the murder of Gandhiji and the destruction of Indian National Congress. The British Viceroy turned down with contempt the demand of the Indian Nation for the release of Mahatma Gandhi ; the British Viceroy even went to the extent of dismissing three influential Indians whose names he exploited in the most unscrupulous manner, when these Indians pressed the Viceroy to save Gandhiji's precious life.

But Gandhiji has survived the fast ; and the British Viceroy and his accomplices in the crimes against India, have been disappointed. Mahatma Gandhi's triumphal emergence from this fast is not only a victory for the spiritual force which inspires Gandhiji ; it is a victory for India ; it is a victory for India's cause of justice and righteousness. It is a victory that should stimulate the confidence of the

Indian people in the greater triumph against the evil force of British imperialism that is now imminent. It is a victory that should spur the Indian Nation to the supreme sacrifice in the fulfilment of Mahatma Gandhi's life's mission. I consider this day of successful termination of Mahatma Gandhi's fast as an important milestone in the victorious progress of India's battle for independence.

On this auspicious day, the day on which our revered leader, Mahatma Gandhi, has scored a signal victory over the British enemies of India, I wish to express my grateful appreciation of the kind sentiments of all friends of India in the hour of crisis that the Indian people have just overcome. To the mighty Axis Powers and their allies, who support the Indian Nation in its fight against the common Anglo-American enemies, I wish to express the heartfelt gratitude of Indians at home and abroad. And to the great Japanese Nation that has pledged all-out assistance to India in her battle for independence, I, on behalf of Indians in East Asia, convey India's debt of gratitude to the Japanese Government and the invincible armed forces of Nippon, and reaffirm the determination of the Indian people to fight shoulder to shoulder with their Japanese brethren, until Anglo-American power in Asia is annihilated. In the past three weeks of India's trials and tribulations, in the period of anxiety and suspense just over, the words of sympathy and re-assurance of aid to India by responsible spokesmen of the Japanese Government and Nation, have been a source of immense gratification and encouragement to the Indian people.

On this day of Gandhiji's triumph against the British enemies of India, I would urge my compatriots, at home as well as abroad, to plunge themselves wholeheartedly into this final battle for India's independence and to achieve the life's mission of our revered leader, Mahatma Gandhi. To them, I would stress once again that the odds are in our favour. The British in India have just suffered a grave defeat and

the Indian Nation has just won a spiritual victory over the British enemy. This is our opportunity to strike the final blow. Let us unite, let us have faith in ourselves and let us be ready for the supreme sacrifice. That was Gandhiji's message to India; it was to send out this message that Gandhiji offered to sacrifice his life. Let every Indian respond to Mahatma Gandhi's call. Let every Indian—soldiers, officials, workers and peasants—let every Indian rise against the British and wipe out the last trace of that satanic regime which was determined to murder Mahatma Gandhi and to crush the Indian Nation.

Almighty God has willed that India must be free; Almighty God has willed that Mahatma Gandhi should live to lead a free India.

BROADCAST ADDRESS

Compatriots at Home!

I wish to speak to you to night on the deep significance of Mahatma Gandhi's recent fast not only for the four hundred million people of India, but also for the entire mankind. Not only Indians but all the right-thinking peoples of the world heaved a sigh of relief when, by what seemed a miracle, Gandhiji successfully completed his 21-day fast.

But, to the British rulers of India and to their American accomplices, Gandhiji's fast was nothing but an ominous threat to their elaborate plans of imperialistic aggression and world domination. The Anglo-Americans were keenly alive to the fact that if, through Gandhiji's self-imposed penance, they lost their stranglehold on India, they would lose the War and their hopes of world domination would be shattered. That is why their propaganda machines were set to work overtime to slander Mahatmaji and to denounce his fast as a confession of failure, a gesture of despair, or an act of political blackmail.

The Anglo-Americans in India nevertheless subsequently realised that all this mud-slinging, all this malicious libel, left Gandhiji untouched; their cowardly attacks on Mahatmaji merely served to show up his traducers in their true colours.

Gandhiji's fast was, in the truest sense, an appeal to God: Mahatma Gandhi epitomises the soul of India; he symbolises in himself the world aspiration for justice and happiness, for a nobler and sublimer life for mankind. By his fast, Mahatmaji was ready to sacrifice his own precious life, if by that great sacrifice he could bring the world even one step nearer to the realization of its yearnings and aspirations.

It is a fallacy to say that Mahatma Gandhi is striving only for India's independence. On the contrary, he has proved beyond doubt that his love for mankind knows no barriers of race, religion or nationality; his vision extends far beyond the borders of India; he dreams of world freedom and world independence, the fullest justice for even the weakest nations and equal happiness for even the most backward peoples on the face of the earth.

Gandhiji represents all that is best and most sublime in the world, and he has dedicated his life to the cause of a better world. To him, the Independence of India is not an end in itself: India's independence is only a means for the achievement of world freedom and world independence, a better and happier world.

When India was free, she enriched the culture and civilisation of the world; she held up to the world the beacon-light of spiritual knowledge; and, in the sphere of arts and industries too, her fame spread to the four corners of the globe. Thus India was the centre of the world; diffusing light and happiness all around.

But to-day, after two centuries of soul-killing alien rule India has been turned into a convenient weapon for the enslavement of many other weaker nations also. An enslav-

ed India has served as an unwilling base of British imperialistic aggression. It was on the foundations of India's slavery that the British erected the superstructure of their world domination; India's freedom would bring the British Empire down, collapsing like a house of cards. India's liberation would also mean the automatic deliverance of many other weaker nations from the octopus-grip of Anglo-American imperialism.

Meanwhile, a new and formidable menace to humanity has arisen in the shape of the American plot to dominate the world. The sinister shadow of this scheme of American World hegemony is already lengthening across India. The Americans seem to have made up their mind that they have got to push the British into the background and secure a dominant position in India as the first step in their plan of world hegemony. But, the Americans are content to play a waiting game for the time being; they are willing to be tutored by the more experienced British exploiters in Egypt where the British showed them that they could interfere in Egypt's internal affairs with impunity; the Americans are taking their lessons at the hands of the British in India at the present moment.

The Americans are gladly learning at the feet of the British the art of colonial rule because they think it profitable to do so ; the Americans are, after all, planning for world hegemony, so they must be prepared to pocket their pride for the moment and learn whatever they can even from the British who long ago mastered the art of exploiting weaker nations.

Compatriots at Home ! The Americans know fully well that India holds the key to their plan of world dominatin; Gandhiji is equally convinced that his dream of world freedom can only be realized through the complete independence of India from British of American domination; that is why Gandhiji has plunged you into your last struggle for freedom, the freedom of India, the freedom of the world; that

was the ideal of your ancestors; and it is for that ideal of your ancestors that the millions of other peoples of East Asia still hold you in deep admiration and respect ; and the world expects to attain a nobler and sublimer life through your liberation and your subsequent contribution to the happiness of the world as of yore.

But I know you are fighting against tremendous odds ; apart from the Anglo-American enemies, you have enemies, in your own midst; and these Indian enemies of India's freedom move among you in the guise of patriots and peace-makers; men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar are bent on wrecking Mahatma Gandhi's efforts to liberate India. How else can you explain the statement issued by thirty-five so-called Indian leaders, including Sapru and Jayakar, in which they assume that Gandhiji is ready to negotiate a compromise with the British. These Indians are traitors to their own country ; they are agents of the British. I beg of you, my countrymen, do not for a moment trust these so-called leaders. Be on your guard against the treacheries of these men.

Compatriots at Home ! I, therefore, implore you in all humility to do your duty by India at this most crucial hour in India and world's history ; to be ready to make any sacrifice, and thus to ensure that Mahatma Gandhi's dream of a free India, and through a free India, a free, better and happier world, will soon be a reality.

LONG LIVE FREE INDIA. BANDE MATARAM.

Our Struggle

Bose Exposes Details of his Revolutionary Activities

Bose's statement as President of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League in East Africa :—

Brethren :

It has been my desire for sometime to clear the existing misunderstanding between the Indian National Army and the Indian Independence League, but unfortunately owing to the extremely heavy pressure of work I have not been able to express my views in public though I did manage to talk to the military officers and some civilian officials of the League. Later I wish to speak before a mass meeting on the whole issue but for the present, wish to circulate this statement for your immediate information.

It is a known fact that our Motherland has been exploited and looted by the British for the last two centuries and during this period thousands of our patriots and leaders have sacrificed their lives for the emancipation of Hindustan. Even today thousands of our brethren in India are being murdered daily. This is the reason that not only in India but all over the world every Indian is clamouring for the freedom of India. Remember the words of our leader Mahatma Ji "Do or Die."

It is about thirty years ago that I threw a bomb at the Viceroy and as I was an active member of the Lahore, Delhi, and Benares conspiracies, I had to leave my country and to seek foreign help. With the aid of Germany I was able to send home two ships loads of arms and ammunition but unfortunately they were confiscated before reaching India. What was the motive behind this all? Freedom of my country, which is very dear to me. I feel confident that

everyone of you have the same love for the freedom of our fair land if not more. As for me I have forsaken everything—life, wealth, relatives and all other things which were dear to me for the sake of my country. The British offered thousands of rupees as a reward for my head. They succeeded in persuading the Japanese Government, through their ambassador to hand me over to them, and I was ordered by the Japanese Government to leave Japan within five days, but fortunately some of my Japanese friends concealed me in their house and there I lived in obscurity for seven years. Had the British been successful in taking me back to India I would have been killed long ago. That is why I have great belief in the Almighty God who has helped me and guide me all through these perilous years and I hope He will not forsake me in this sacred work, which you have placed on my shoulders by electing me as the President of the Council of Action at the Bangkok Conference. I shall see that our mission does not fail, and the trust put in me faithfully carried out.

Comrades: Let me tell you that we in the Far East shall soon join hands with our brethren at home and shall create such a revolution in India that we will achieve our most cherished purpose—complete freedom of India. *Be ready to die as free men rather than to live as slaves.* The time has passed for India to stay under a foreign power. India must be free during this struggle. India would have been free long ago if we had been in possession of arms and ammunition. History tells us that many nations have fought their battles with foreign help. In our struggle for Independence, the more the Congress fought with non-violence methods the more brutal became the methods of the British. For this reason I worked in Japan with a view to asking for help when the occasion arises. I am glad to tell you that my labour for the last thirty years has borne fruit.

On the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War I interviewed the Minister of Home Affairs and other important

Officials of various departments, as well as members of the General Staff in Japan with a view to securing their support and co-operation in our struggle for freedom and I was promised such support that I can assure you that in Japan you will find a true and sympathizing friend. She has very clear intention about the independence of India. The help she is offering to the Indians is not because she wants to dominate India but because the enemies of India are also her enemies, and therefore co-operation and unity between the two peoples is essential. I can tell you that Japan will not rest until the last soldier of Anglo-Saxon race is removed from India. She is determined to destroy British-American influence in Asia. So why should we not grasp this God-send opportunity and fight for the complete freedom of India?

Before I go any further I want to say very clearly that the Indian Independence Movement is ours and ours alone which has been specially formed to fight for the independence of India. Remember this Movement is neither of the Japanese people nor of their Government. *They have nothing whatsoever to do with it except that they have offered all their help for the defeat of the common foe, for which we are indeed grateful. But suppose a time were to come when we begin to receive not sufficient help or say nothing at all, are we to give up our Movement? The answer is, no.* The Movement must continue until our country is completely free from any kind of foreign domination or influence. It is our Movement, our struggle and we alone shall have to decide its fate. It is therefore imperative for every true son of India who loves freedom to join this Movement with heart and soul and move forward with complete determination until our independence is achieved. You will have to face several drawbacks, discouragements, difficulties and obstructions in the attempt but you should not be disheartened as you have shouldered a most sacred cause and have become the custodians of the four hundred millions of India. You should therefore see that this Movement is not used by any

one for any other purpose, except the gaining of Indian Independence. It is equally the duty of every one of us to be ready to crush any opposition or die in the attempt. Remember that at the declaration of the Greater East Asia War this Movement was in full swing in Japan, Shanghai, Canton and Bangkok. The Indian Independence League was established by me in Japan in 1924. As I was perfectly aware of the position of Indians during and after the war I had a clear understanding with the Japanese Government on this matter and it was through this process that Major Fujiwara asked for the co-operation of Indian patriots and our late beloved Sardar Pritam Singh took a major part in the pageant of the Malaya campaign. Captain Mohon Singh joined hands with Sardar Pritam Singh on 12th December, 1941, with a party of a few persons. Sardar Pritam Singh being a civilian and Major Fujiwara being a Japanese Officer, did not know very much about the Indian soldiers and so the administration and command of Indian military personnel was given over to Capt. Mohon Singh. It was desired to teach them nationalism, patriotism and love for freedom and to prepare them for struggle for the freedom of India. I realised that the organization of the Independence Movement in East Asia was not merely my affair but the concern of my countrymen residing there. It was for this reason that I arranged for a Conference of some of the leaders in East Asia including military officers, which was held at Tokyo in March last year. The fundamental principles of this Movement were laid down at that Conference. Subsequently at the Bangkok Conference I received the mandate of our countrymen in East Asia to carry on this Movement in the best way possible. Nobody can ever doubt that considerable progress has been made in the great work we have undertaken and in which Capt. Mohon Singh played a major part. There are great possibilities of our succeeding in attaining our objective. The Bangkok Conference was held in June last year and certain resolutions were passed for the guidance

and working of the Movement. In accordance with these resolutions a Council of Action was elected as the Supreme Executive Body of the Movement.

Prior to election, Mr. Mohan Singh in his speech made statements which now appear to be misrepresentation of facts because he solemnly gave us to understand that the majority of the Indian Army personnel were prepared to join this Movement without any threat or force and that they had acclaimed him as their military leader. I was horrified at a later date to learn of the atrocities meted out to officers and men of the Indian Army for which the blame naturally falls on Capt. Mohon Singh. Many of our poor brethren were shot while many were tortured, humiliated or sent to concentration camp and thus by sheer threat and violence he demoralized the majority of officers and men and compelled them to become volunteers, which is against our principle. I for one will be the last man to see my countrymen shot in cold blood. This is what we are fighting for against the British and I personally cannot afford to see Indians tortured in this manner.

In accordance with the resolutions of the Bangkok Conference Indian National Army is a part of the Indian Independence League and every officer and man of the I.N.A. is a member of the Indian Independence League and owes allegiance to the League. It must be understood that an army is an army of a country and not of an individual so it was wrong of I. N. A. personnel to give allegiance to an individual, without raising an objection. I was under the impression that the whole I. N. A. was well aware of the resolutions because an Officer was purposely sent down as a representative of Mr. Mohon Singh to explain in details the resolutions to the Army which I understood he did from camp to camp. Not only that, but I am further given to understand that on return of Mr. Mohon Singh a few conferences were held at his bungalow and the position was clarified to the officers who later joined the I. N. A.

I, however was being informed of the situation in Syonan and I felt it desirable to hold a meeting of the Council of Action in Bangkok but unfortunately the members could not come for some reason or the other, and under the circumstances I was forced to come to Syonan for discussion.

There was never, at any moment, any divergence of opinion on the broad principles along which this Movement should continue, for, there was no difference of opinion as to the necessity of obtaining sufficient assurances from the Imperial Government of Japan regarding their acceptance of the basic principles enunciated at the Bangkok Conference. The reply to the Bangkok Resolutions which was delivered to us dated the 10th July was not so satisfactory. I was in agreement with my colleagues that a further clarification of the Imperial Government's attitude towards the resolutions adopted at the Bangkok Conference was desirable. On 5th of September, 1942, a letter was addressed to Colonel Iwakure requesting that the Imperial Government should give us a more specific reply to the Bangkok Resolutions. On receipt of this letter, Col. Iwakure intimated to me that such a request to the Imperial Government might be misconstrued and lead to a good deal of misunderstanding and suggested that the letter should be withdrawn. An emergency meeting of the Council of Action was held on 7th September at which all members were present except Mr. Raghavan. The meeting decided to withdraw the letter which was done accordingly.

This matter again came up for a good deal of discussion in the meetings of the Council of Action during the latter part of November. The necessity for requesting a further clarification of the Imperial Government's attitude on these important issues was found essential. We, therefore, formulated our proposals and submitted them to Col. Iwakuro for transmission to the Imperial Government of Japan, and at a joint conference we explained to Colonel

Iwakuro the necessity of giving us more formal assurances than we had had up till then. Although the discussion with Col. Iwakuro did not give us full satisfaction, I pleaded with my colleagues in the Council of Action that they should give me time to enable me to take up these important issues with the Imperial Government of Tokyo. On 20th of November, the Council of Action had already decided that my colleague, Sri N. Raghavan, and I should visit Tokyo if need be and take up these important matters directly with the Tokyo Government.

In the latter part of November, it came to light that Mr. Mohon Singh as G.O.C. of the I.N.A., had arranged with the Iwakura Kikan for the transport of some I.N.A. troops to Burma for the purpose of training. An advance party was sent by the G.O.C. to Rangoon without the consent of the Council of Action. Naturally the Council of Action wished to know about the move in greater detail and was not prepared to sanction movement of troops without its knowledge. During the discussions in the Council of Action, Mr. Mohon Singh, for the first time since the Bangkok Conference placed before the Council the state of affairs existing in the Army. It was then that the Council of Action was in a position to realise that if the Indian National Army was to become a strong and efficient fighting force for the purpose of achievement of our freedom, a radical change in the existing organization was absolutely necessary. It is perhaps essential to state here the reasons why I, as President, of Council of Action, left all questions relating to the Indian National Army in the hands of Mr. Mohan Singh. I was of the opinion before these facts became known to us that it would be better to entrust the organization of the I.N.A. in the hands of our G.O.C. and to give him that confidence which, he said, was essential for him to carry on the great task. I therefore refrained from interfering with the work of the G.O.C. in the belief that the latter would in turn keep the Council completely informed of the position of the Indian National

Army from time to time. There have been ample opportunities for the G.O.C. to apprise the Council during its sittings in September and October of all difficulties which he was facing in relation to the organization and expansion of the I.N.A. but unfortunately in these matters no information was supplied to the Council of Action.

I regret to have to say that in matters connected with the I.N.A. the G.O.C. arrived at important decisions without reference to the Council of Action. In fact the Council was kept almost in darkness with regard to various important activities of the I.N.A.—a state of affairs which were tried to rectify. I thought it was vitally important that the Council of Action should immediately take control of the policy regarding the Army and all questions of major importance should be decided by the Council and not by the G.O.C. I had to write to Col. Iwakuro to that effect so that no further mistakes would be committed.

Because of all this muddle which could have been avoided, Mr. Raghavan, who was all the time advocating better co-ordination between the Army and the Council, resigned. I asked him to withdraw his resignation as matters were now getting better. On the 4th December, at my request, the members of the Council agreed to give me time till the end of January, 1943, to enable me to obtain full and satisfactory assurance from the Japanese Government. I was glad that I was given further time to attempt at a solution of those difficult questions before my colleagues resigned.

The next morning, that is on 5th December, I was surprised, therefore, to hear from Mr. Mohan Singh, Col. Gillani and Sri K. P. K. Menon that notwithstanding the previous day's decision, they were not prepared to carry on the Movement unless an assurance was immediately given that a reply to Bangkok resolutions in detail would be obtained on or before 1st January, 1943. As far as I know there was no one in Malay capable of giving such an assurance. Moreover it was virtually an ultimatum to the

Japanese Government which would have offended them. I then realized that an attempt was being made to obstruct the solving of the questions in issue in order to wreck the Movement. This I was not prepared to agree to. I was not then, and even now I am not, satisfied that the Japanese Government is insincere. At all events we have not, as yet, explored all avenues open to us to find out for ourselves whether the Japanese Government is prepared to help this Movement in such a manner as we desire. If we find that they are not sincere then we shall drop their help but not till then. Notwithstanding the inexplicable attitude taken up by my colleagues, I tried to negotiate with the Japanese authorities to arrive at a formula which would help us in tiding over the present crisis.

On the 8th December, a most unfortunate event happened, namely, the sudden arrest of Col. Gill by the Japanese Military Police for certain investigations. Col. Gill was taking an active part in the present crisis. However on enquiry I found out that his arrest had no connection with our crisis, although it gave an impression that it was.

On the afternoon of the same day a meeting of the Council of Action was held, Mr. Raghavan being absent. However the other members said that unless their request for sending the ultimatum on the 5th December were acceded to immediately, it would be possible for them to continue in this Movement. The meeting of the Council of Action was adjourned till the 10th December for further discussions on all these questions. Later in the evening, however, I received a letter of resignation signed by all three of them. I must confess that it did not cause me much surprise because I had a feeling for sometime that they were not interested in attempting to secure a settlement. So I accepted all the resignations. This being the position I had no other alternative but to take over the powers and duties of the Council of Action according to our Constitution pending the election of new members which can be done only

at a meeting of representatives of various territories in East Asia and of the Indian National Army.

Mr. Mohan Singh, from the very beginning, wanted to carry on his work despotically. He wanted to have a free hand in his undertakings, and as such, he would not bear the idea of being interfered with by others in his work, but constitutionally he had to work under the Council of Action. In order to sweep away this restriction, he intensified his exercise of dictatorial influence over the I.N.A. and infused wrong ideas into the minds of his officers and men that the army belonged to him, and that he was its master.

Moreover in the last meeting of the Council of Action Mr. Mohan Singh tried to blot out the Council of Action pressing upon the Council to get an immediate clarification of a few questions from the Japanese authorities which, as I have stated above, was impossible because there was none in Malay who could answer on the spot. On receiving no reply, he, as well as the other two members of the Council of Action, tendered their resignations the same evening without waiting to meet on the 10th December as was previously arranged. Col. Gillani, in his capacity as an officer of the I.N.A. under Mr. Mohan Singh, had no alternative but to comply with the wishes of his superior and thus relinquished his post.

Since Mr. Mohan Singh was instrumental in the election of Mr. Menon as a member of the Council of Action and his election was mainly due to the military votes, he was obliged to resign together with Mr. Mohan Singh.

Two of the highest military officers having resigned I wished to call the rest of the senior officers in order to acquaint them with the whole situation and inform them of my plans. So, I asked the G.O.C. to send these officers to meet me at the Sea View Hotel on 12th December. The G.O.C. however, thought it necessary to enquire in what capacity I had called that meeting and what the purpose of that meeting was. As President of the Council of Action and, as such, the

Head of this Movement, I am entitled to meet any officer of the I.N.A. and the G.O.C. is not at liberty to ask for an explanation from me. However, I pointed out to him that the powers and duties of the Council of Action were vested in me as the President and the sole surviving member of the Council of Action. The G.O.C. not only ignored my directions but stated in his letter to me dated 13th December, 1942 that :—

(a) "the members of the Indian National Army are pledged to me (i.e. Capt. Mohan Singh) and me alone by name" and

(b) "under the existing circumstances, we (meaning, I presume, the Army) cannot usefully serve our Motherland through the Indian Independence League in East Asia and have accordingly thought it fit to sever our connection with it."

The tone and contents of this letter came to me as a great shock. I could hardly imagine that any officer appointed G.O.C. of any army would disown the very Movement of which the army forms an integral part and claim that that army is his own private personal army. I could not for a moment believe that any officer or any man who had volunteered for service in the I.N.A. did ever imagine that he was pledging loyalty to an individual and not to the Movement which brought into existence that Army.

When Mr. Mohan Singh had resigned from the membership of the Council of Action and said that he had nothing to do with this Movement he should naturally have washed his hands off the command of the I.N.A. but he did not. He waited for further three weeks, thinking that as the Council of Action does not exist, any decision that was reached between the Indian side and the Japanese would be between him and the Japanese Government. But his idea did not materialise because the Japanese authorities stuck to the Bangkok resolution by recognizing the Council of Action as the Supreme Body of which I was the only sur-

viving member. As a matter of fact Mr. Mohan Singh approached Col. Iwakuro with a letter stating clearly that the Indian National Army belonged to him and that he wished to dissolve it. On the other hand he informed his officers that if anything happened to him they should dissolve the army immediately.

In the face of the above facts, I had to take the most painful but the only course open to me namely the removal of General Mohan Singh from his post as G.O.C. of Indian National Army.

Before closing the facts of the case I want to give you extracts from the speeches of the Premier General H. Tojo at the various occasions concerning India and from which I hope you will be able to know the intention of the Japanese Government towards India.

1. In his address before the Diet on the fall of Singapore on 16th February 1942 the Premier General Tojo said :—

It is a golden opportunity for India having, as it does, several thousand years of history and splendid cultural tradition, to rid herself of the ruthless despotism of Britain and participate in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Japan expects that India will restore its proper status as India for the Indians and it will not stint herself in extending assistance to the patriotic efforts of the Indians. Should India fail to awaken to her mission forgetting her history and tradition and continue as before to be beguiled by the British cajolery and manipulation and act at their beck and call. I cannot but fear that an opportunity for renaissance of the Indian people would be for ever lost.

2. In his Message to the Imperial Diet on 12th March, 1942 the Premier said :—

It is my firm belief that now is the time to establish India for the Indians, which has for many years been the aspiration of the 400 million Indian people.

Great Britain has for long deceived and continued her arbitrary rule over India. What was the reality of the British promise made to India in the last Great War must be still fresh, I believe, in the memory of the Indian people. Now Great Britain is trying to deceive India with all sorts of cajolery. If the leaders of India, misled by such British cajoleries, betray the long-cherished aspiration of the Indian people and thus fling away this heaven-sent opportunity. I believe there will be no chance for saving India for ever and there will be no greater misfortune befalling the 400 million Indian people.

Will India rise as India for the Indians to have the honour to co-operate for the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, or will she permanently stoop under the shackles of the Anglo-American Powers to leave her name as a slave to posterity? She is now face to face with the time when she should liquidate her past, see the new situation correctly and make her final decision.

3. In his advice to India on 7th April, 1942 General Tojo said :—

The Imperial Forces which previously occupied Rangoon, an important base in Burma, and then took possession of the more strategic point in the Eastern Indian Ocean, the Andaman Islands, which have hitherto been a place of exile for patriots of Indian Independence, have now at last dealt severe blows to the British forces and military establishments in India.

The grim determination of our Empire to crush the United States and Britain is thus being steadily translated into action. If India should remain as before under the military control of Britain, it would, I am afraid, be unavoidable that, in course of our subjugation of the British forces there, India will suffer great calamities.

As it is, of course, farthest from the thought of Japan to consider the Indian people as an enemy; Japan deeply

sympathizes with them who are likely to suffer the ravages of war.

What Japan's intentions are toward the Indian people was made clear in my address delivered before the Imperial Diet on March 12th. In short, I am firmly convinced that now is the golden opportunity for the Indian people to exert their utmost efforts in order to secure India's status as it ought to be.

The British influence in India is now about to be exterminated. I wish once again to repeat at this juncture Japan's expectation that not only the leaders in India but the four hundred million people there, while avoiding unnecessary calamities which will result from their being misled by cweet flatteries of Britain, the nation, destined to downfall, will take full advantage of this heaven-sent opportunity and break away from the British bonds which have so long shackled them and thus go vigorously forward to realize truly their long-cherished aspiration of "India for the Indians".

4. In his address before the Lower House of the Diet on the Progress of the War and on Economic Problems of the Greater East Asia on 28th May, 1942 the Premier General Tojo said :—

There still remains in India a framework of British possession with various military establishments, and the military forces are being steadily increased. As long as there remain Anglo-American Military forces in India, Japan is determined inflexibly to crush them thoroughly. To our regret, it is, indeed, unavoidable that in the progress of such campaign some misfortunes may befall innocent Indians. What I expect at this juncture, however, is that the Indian people will rise with an intrepid spirit, expel the Anglo-American forces as well as their influence completely from India and thereby realize the Independence of their Motherland.

I must emphasise that before we can take a final and decisive step to completely stop this Movement, we have got

to be satisfied beyond doubt that the Japanese Government are not sincere in their desire to assist us and that they want to use us as mere fifth-columnists or puppets. It is also necessary before the final step is taken to consider the repercussions of such a step on the two and half million Indians in East Asia and 400 million in India, a matter which seems to have escaped the attention of my three colleagues. I would have been untrue to the trust reposed in me by you all if I had allowed any wrecking of the Movement immediately and before we could even find out the attitude of Tokyo.

I have given you a true pen-picture of the whole situation and I leave it to your good judgment to decide. You must always remember that this Movement and the Army do not belong to any one man and they can never be so. The foundation of this Movement was laid years ago. Despite all opposition to the struggle it is gaining a momentum. Many die in the struggle and a greater number take their place. Many have played their part in this drama of Indian freedom and disappeared from the stage of sacrifice but the Movement continues to expand and is gradually carrying us to the ultimate goal. I may die tomorrow but one of you should be ready to take my place and when he dies there should be another to take over the responsibilities. *It is the most sacred duty of every Indian to sacrifice his all for the complete independence of India and the Hindustan of tomorrow will be proud of you. If you survive in this struggle, you shall be called heroes and if you die in the attempt you shall be martyrs.*

I therefore appeal to you in the name of our Motherland to set aside all petty differences, make one unit and brotherhood and move forward as one team and the freedom of our country is assured. Remember you are born only once and will die only once, whether it is on sick-bed or whether it is on the battlefield. Come forward as men, live as men and

die as men, so that the India of tomorrow can be proud of you.

The Indian National Army does not belong to me or to Mr. Mohan Singh or to any one of you but it is the vision of four hundred millions of India. Remember, when it did not exist ; but once it is formed, see that nobody can break it. If you have the feeling of nationalism and want to live as a free citizen of the world then answer the call of your Motherland and join this Movement. This is your work just as much of mine, so there shall be no force and threat of any kind. This is merely a service for your country. By serving your country you are serving yourself. A small party of true and patriotic men is worth more than any army of hundred thousands which may betray India at the time of her need.

Comrades ! It is a God-send opportunity. Everything is in our favour. One of the world's greatest powers is prepared to help us, and even the inner voice of the heart tells me that India must be free during this struggle.

Inqlab Zindabad.

(Italics are ours).

Beware of American Imperialism

The United States of America has been long known as the land of liberty. Americans had to fight a very bitter war against British imperialism, under the leadership of that greatest of all Americans, George Washington, to gain their freedom, just as we Indians are to-day fighting for our own national freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Having themselves suffered at the hands of the British, it is but natural that the Americans should appreciate the bitterness, the misery and the sufferings of nations which are now groaning under the iron-heel of British Imperialism, and it would really be extremely shocking if the Americans admired and supported British Imperialism in India and other oppressed countries. Since India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, revolted against the satanic British administration in India in 1919, and since we decided to resist, by every peaceful and legitimate means, the British exploitation of India, not a few Americans of note have been attracted by the unique method of the Indian revolt and by the most reasonable stand taken by the Indian National Congress in demanding freedom. Many Such Americans visited India during those black days of ruthless British terrorism and were greatly moved by the acute and unimaginable sufferings of the people and were horrified by the inhuman atrocities committed by the British guardians of law and order in India. They saw with their own eyes how the British agents there let loose their forces of destruction against the most peaceful, unarmed and well-disciplined demonstrators of Gandhi's camp and how they created havoc among the people. The horrible scenes of that most unequal fight moved some of the Americans to such an extent that they considered it to be a crime to keep quiet and decided to devote their time and their energy to serve the

cause of Indian freedom from British bondage. Mr. Will-Durant, a well-known American philosopher and writer, after witnessing British atrocities against the people of India wrote :—

“ I went to India to help myself visualize a people whose cultural history I had been studying for the *Story of Civilization*. I did not expect to be attracted by the Hindus or that I should be swept into a passionate interest in Indian politics.....But, I saw such things in India as made me feel that study and writing were frivolous things in the presence of a people—one-fifth of the human race—suffering poverty and oppression more bitter than any to be found elsewhere on the earth. I was horrified...I came away resolved to study living India...and the more I read the more I was filled with astonishment and indignation.....I know of nothing in the world that I would rather do to-day than to be of help to India.....”

Will Durant was not alone in forming this view of the Indian situation. Many more Americans of note have visited India during the present days of ruthless British repression and oppression and not a few of them have openly expressed their horror at the brutalities perpetrated by the British. Quite a number of them made up their minds to live and work among the Indians and to dedicate themselves to the emancipation of the Indian people. For thus helping humanity, the recognition given to these Americans by the British police was arrest and imprisonment. Some have even been beaten with the *lathi* (iron shod bamboo sticks).

The sufferings of individual Americans for the sake of India have won the admiration of the Indian people for the people of America as a whole. Even to-day the welcome news comes through neutral sources that the Americans are feeling bitter about the British behaviour in India and want an early declaration of Indian Independence. The other day Mr. H. G. Wells, famous British writer and statesman,

who seems to be greatly concerned over the prospects of India slipping out of the British bag, observed as follows in an article in an American journal :—

“ There can be no basic difference between India and the Crown Colonies, and we have to make up our minds that American opinion is against the continuation of our rule over these territories. ”

It is a matter of great regret and disappointment, however, and it is no less amazing, that in spite of these realistic expressions of American public opinion against the alien exploitation of, and administration in India, the rulers of America are purposely and deliberately strengthening the hands of British Imperialism in our unhappy country. They are helping the British in the most effective way possible to suppress our aspirations and our struggle for freedom. The stationing of American troops in India, the continuous conniving at the countless crimes which are being daily committed against helpless Indian humanity by the agents of Mr. Churchill, the great comrade-in-arms and ardent lieutenant of President Roosevelt, all point to the one fact that the American rulers are in accord with what is being done by the British in India and are therefore no less imperialistic in their outlook and ambition than are the British. It suggests that in America, as in Britain, the principles of democracy are meant for use at home only and have nothing to do with the dealings of America with other nations. This being the case, American opinion against British misrule in India is entirely meaningless, so far as we Indians are concerned, because it has no bearing on the decisions of the ruling class of America.

What difference does it make so far as we Indians are concerned even if some good Americans, at times, deliver speeches denouncing British rule in India? What difference does it make if some good American journalists, at times, write and publish articles and books denouncing British imperialism in our country? How does it materially

help the Indians if some American organisations pass resolutions demanding freedom for India and asking for American intervention? They may try to please our countrymen but they can never help us in securing our goal if White House does not act upon them and if President Roosevelt treats them as scraps of paper to be consigned to the waste paper basket.

In fact, this ineffective and innocuous pro-Indian attitude of a certain section of Americans, which has been much publicised throughout India, is fraught with great danger to the very cause of our freedom. It misleads the Indian public opinion and prevents us from adopting a correct attitude towards America. To-day, for all practical purposes, America is supporting British imperialism to the fullest extent in every aspect of the latter's activities, including the suppression of Indian national aspirations. It will therefore be a very correct and natural attitude on our part to judge America in this light. Yet, not a few Indians of note are being misled by the protestations of these Pro-Indian Americans and are being wrongly led to believe that America, as a whole, including the Government of the land, are true supporters of and believers in the principles of democracy and internationalism and that they are fighting this imperialistic war for the sake of oppressed humanity. In our fight against British imperialism we have constantly exemplified Americans as being the defenders of liberty and democracy. So far we have not found it necessary to study the so-called American democracy in practice from close quarters. Most of us in India had formed our opinion about America and the Americans through those Americans who expressed sympathy for and supported our demand that we should be free. We judged America through them and we were, unconsciously, led to believe that America as a whole would stand by us in our fight for India's freedom. Many of our leaders were erroneously holding the belief that America was the saviour of the victims of imperialistic aggression.

The British, on their part, have been exploiting this Pro-American sentiment of the Indians in their own interest. Having found it useful for their purpose, they have under the circumstances, been trying to encourage and strengthen this unhealthy sentiment among the Indians. They know that British imperialism stands no chance whatsoever of regaining the confidence of the Indian people. They, therefore, seek to use their American allies to influence Indian opinion in favour of supporting their war efforts. This is one of the greatest dangers which we Indian ought to be aware of and to be "on guard" against this insidious type of mental poison should be the slogan. We must take lessons from our past experiences.

Our experiences with the Socialists of Britain offer a great lesson to us. For long, Indian nationalists had pinned great hopes on the British labour party. For long, the British Labour Party, both in speeches and writings, supported India's claim for independence. No less a labour leader than the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald criticised time and again the Indian policy of the die-hard imperialists of the Conservative and Liberal Parties. He was extremely outspoken in criticising the British rulers of those days and declared unreservedly that Indians were much more capable of governing their country than any Britisher. He paid a tribute to the intelligence of the Indian people by declaring that the average Indian, although illiterate, was more intelligent than the average Englishman. Yet this very advocate of Indian freedom, when he came to power, carried out the most ruthless repression against the peaceful and legitimate struggle of the Indian National Congress for self-government. This very man created communal franchise and following in the footsteps of the Tories encouraged disunity among the Indians. It was under the administration of this very Socialist leader of Britain that more than 200,000 men and women were arrested and imprisoned merely for politely requesting their countrymen to use home made goods and

to refrain from drinking liquor, and for asking the British to make good their promises to India.

The numerous happenings in India during the Labour regime of Britain have convinced us that the British Socialists, although never tired of talking about international brotherhood and the unity of the workers of the world, do seldom differ from their capitalist and imperialist counterparts in their intentions regarding India. They may be quite sincere in their desire to see their own working class happy and prosperous ; but, when the question of the imperial interest of Britain comes, their outlook and their behaviour do not differ from their colleagues who belong to other political parties in Britain. After having such very bitter experiences under the Labour Government of Britain, there is no reason for us to believe that the British Socialists have any sincere sympathy for our aspirations. Yet for decades we were led to believe that the Socialists being the so-called exponents of democracy, liberty and equality would do something substantial to help us achieve our freedom when they had the power to do so.

When a die-hard like Churchill says something about India we know what he means. We Indians know very definitely that he has no desire to part with power in India. When he makes any promise of Self-Government to us we know that he does not mean it and that he is lying. Very few Indian nationalists give serious thought to what the Tories of Britain talk about India. However, when a MacDonald or a Bevin said that Britain must part with power in India, we naturally did not regard them as being unworthy of attention. When Sir Stafford Cripps came to India to make an attempt to settle the Indian question even a great Indian leader and statesman like Pandit Jawharlal Nehru lent an ear to him, in the belief that something might be possible. Nevertheless, we have seen how even a radical socialist like Stafford Cripps refuses to agree to the Indian demand and indulges in condemning our greatest national

organisation and national leaders because we refuse to fall into his imperialistic trap. After all it is not our fault if we do not believe British promises whoever makes them. Our long experiences have taught us this.

Our experiences with the Socialists of Britain provide a great lesson for us particularly at the present critical juncture when we have to face a similar deceptive gesture from another false friend—the United States of Ameira. We must learn to be wiser by past experiences and must not allow ourselves to be led away by sentimental considerations. If we did not take a realistic attitude towards this new danger at the present most important moment of our history we will in the future be left to repent our folly and to be laughed at by the whole world, and certainly we will deserve that. The much advertised American democracy and American love for liberty must not mislead us and we must avoid falling into this ingeniously designed trap. We must refuse to be lured by the attractive music of a distant band.

Let us not forget that the comparatively shorter history of independent America is full of instances of imperialistic American aggression against the weak and the helpless. It will be of interest to remember the most inhuman and dastardly treatment meted out daily to the Negroes of America by these so-called lovers of liberty and democracy. It is worthy of note that while America professes to be out to save the world for democracy and liberty, in her own house the Negroes up to this very day are being subjected to all sorts of reprovals and disabilities. For a Negro it is a crime of the first order to love an American lassie. He must be lynched and burnt alive if he ever makes the mistake of falling in love with an American girl. Americans, of course, are free to carry on love affairs with Negro girls.

However, of much greater importance for us in the history of the relations between the Philippines and America. Philippines' experiences with the United States of America should open the eyes of even the greater optimist. In India

we are, fortunately or unfortunately, in very much a similar position to the Filipinos when the Americans came to save them from the Spaniards. Americans are experts in this game and it will be of benefit to us if we take note of it. In spite of the fact that we have heard a lot about America's "ideal treatment" of the Filipinos and their promise of freedom to them, the inside story of the American administration in these islands is not much different from ours in India. The same periodical promises of independence and withholding it under various pretexts "in the interest and for the good of the Filipinos" until the Japanese forces brought an end to it early last year.

Let us examine another aspect of American democracy in practice. They call themselves Christians and profess to believe in human brotherhood. Let us see how far they put onto operation. With all their so-called love for liberty and equality, the Americans are not less conscious of their white skin than their English brothers. If we Indians are treated as Pariahs within the British Commonwealth, within the American Empire we have been receiving no better a treatment. In the Philippines, Indians were not welcomed, and when passing through Manila, many Indian passengers had to remain on board the ship in port for days together, because they were not permitted to go ashore to have a glimpse at the city. In 1924, the Americans passed a Bill and prohibited the Asiatic races from entering America. We are not allowed to work for our livelihood in America. We cannot choose to be naturalised there. Yet, the rulers of America are not tired of talking about the Nazi's treatment of the Jews.

The United States of America's dealings with her neighbours in Central and South America are yet another chapter in the history of American imperialistic ambition. Countries like Panama and Mexico have their own stories of woe. Even in the Presidential election of Mexico, the Mexicans must please American rulers and American vested interests. It

will be a shocking revelation to many of us to know that within a short period of 158 years of free nationhood of America the latter has carried out no less than 164 aggressive operations against weak and helpless nations in different parts of the world. We need not dip very far into the past to find an example of American aggression. It is a well known fact that had President Roosevelt not taken such an active interest in the mischief making of the British war-mongers and had he not encouraged and supported Britain in her imperialistic activities against other nations in Europe and elsewhere since the very beginning of the present conflict the world would not have witnessed such a large-scale conflagration. Hundreds of thousands of innocent lives would have been saved and humanity would not have had to face the unimaginable miseries and sufferings that it is facing to-day.

Those of us who have followed the events that led to the Greater East Asia War will have no difficulty in realising how Japan made repeated efforts to convince America that she has no desire to enter into a war. The last of these efforts was the despatch of Admiral Nomura to Washington as Japan's Ambassador. Admiral Nomura was well known for his friendly feelings for America. To support him and to strengthen his efforts to maintain peace when the Japan-American relations worsened, Mr. Kurusu, another undoubted friend of America in Japan was sent to Washington. These sincere attempts on the part of Japan to avoid conflict were interpreted by President Roosevelt as a sign of weakness on the part of Japan. In return for these friendly lectures. President Roosevelt presented the most humiliating ultimatum to Japan—an ultimatum that no Nation with a grain of self-respect could tolerate. The result was the War of Greater East Asia.

Much more recently we have seen how one after the other all the French colonies and possessions have been occupied by the Anglo-American forces without any justi-

fiable excuse, in spite of all the protests and oppositions from the French Government.

In view of such glaring imperialist activities of the American rulers, it will be one of the greatest blunders on our part to believe even for a moment that Roosevelt and his collaborators at the White House are inspired by any altruistic motive of saving democracy and freedom from being strangled by the Nazis and Fascists. The Anglo-Saxons have proved themselves to be the greatest enemies of democracy by abusing its principles when applied to nations other than themselves. For all practical purposes the blessings of democracy and liberty were meant for the chosen sons of God in Britain and America, and we others who are directly or indirectly under their domination and influence had to be satisfied with only an academic study of their theories. For us democracy and liberty must remain forbidden fruits. That being the attitude of the American imperialists, as much as of the British, they have forfeited the right to claim to be the defenders of democracy. So far as Britain is concerned, we saw them in their true colours a long time ago. We must now know the facts about America before it is too late.

If the United States of America stood sincerely for the principles of democracy, and if the rulers of that so-called land of liberty were true to their profession, they could not have behaved towards India in the way they have done. They could never have omitted India when discussing the terms of the Atlantic Charter. If they wanted world support for democracy they could never have allowed Indians to be oppressed and tyrannised by their Allies, the British. Who can doubt that we Indians have proved ourselves to be the most ardent and sincere fighters for democracy during the last twenty-five years and more? We were all along fighting for a government of the Indian people in India. Could there be any doubt that we stood for democracy? Had we not believed in these principles it would have been impossible for Britain to receive such fabulous help from India

during the last Great War. Again, it would have been impossible for Britain to fool so many intelligent Indians and to enrol their co-operation during the present imperialistic war, had the Indians had no love for democracy and liberty. We all know for certain that those misguided Indians are not in love with British imperialism. They hate British rule in India. Yet they are hugging the very chain that binds their Motherland. The only reason that makes them do so is their faith in democracy and their belief, which has proved to be false, that America and Britain are fighting jointly for the principles of democracy.

Rightly or wrongly Indians in general stand for democracy. Since days of yore Indian Society was based on the principles very akin to democracy. They know that the British administrators cannot tolerate democracy in practice in India. Yet they believe that the principles of democracy are beneficial to Indian society and can be made usefully applicable to it. They hope to achieve the goal of freedom at an early date and, when free from the imperialist yoke of Britain, they wish to utilise those principles for the benefit of India. The organisation of the Indian National Congress, its plan of future government of India, its present activities and movements have all been based on the solid and true principles of democracy. The British "advocates" of democracy have tried to crush our democratic spirit with the help of their machine guns. If the United States of America were a sincere advocate of democracy and liberty it should have had no difficulty in deciding her course of action and attitude in this Indo-British tussle. The United States of America had the opportunity of proving to the world that it stood for the principles of democracy.

President Roosevelt was in a position to ask Britain to comply with the most reasonable demands of the Indian National Congress and to let Indians form a true National Government. However, instead of adopting such a laudable attitude towards the Indian question, President Roosevelt

has done everything to the contrary. He has stationed a large American army in India under the pretext of protecting India from Japanese invasion. This has been done in spite of all protests from the Indian people. The Indian National Congress has declared in clear terms that it believes in the Japanese undertaking that, if India ceases to be an Anglo-American base of war operations, Japan will not take any military action against India. The Congress, therefore, asked the Anglo-American forces to evacuate India and thus to make India free from the danger of war. This appeal and protest from the people of India has had no effect on the decisions of the American President and he insists on sending more and more American troops to India.

The presence of such a large number of American troops can have only one meaning for Indians. We look upon them as an Army of occupation in addition to the British Army of occupation. Whatever explanation the Americans may have for their action we consider it highly objectionable that a third nation should station its troops in our country and without our consent. It definitely helps British imperialism in strengthening its grip over India and in suppressing our national demand with greater success. The presence of such a large American army demoralises the people and rightly or wrongly they get the impression that the Americans are there to help the British against us. It releases Britain's forces in India and makes it available for tyrannising the Indian nationalists. That is sufficient to make us feel that America has no desire to see our country free. That is enough to make us believe that America is not fighting for democracy as she says she is.

America's mission in this war is neither the salvation of democracy nor aid to Britain and the Allies. America has a sinister imperialistic motive behind her participation in this world conflagration. It is this aspect of the American move that has more than anything else to be taken into serious consideration. Impartial observers throughout the

world agree that British imperialism is fast approaching its end. Three years of war in Europe and Asia has decided the fate of the British Empire and nothing on earth can alter this decision. Since September 1939 British power and prestige on the continent of Europe has been most thoroughly and systematically destroyed by the Germans and the Italians. Since December last year Japan has not only destroyed the prestige of Britain in Asia but has dismembered the whole of the British Asiatic Empire east of India. The fate of India itself is awaiting Japan's final decision.

Of course, the British propaganda bureau does not allow the Indians at home to know the truth about the matter and does not let them believe that the British Empire is now definitely on the verge of collapse. This propaganda of bluff continues to whisper in the ears of other people that very soon the allied forces will "recover" all the lost territories and will give a "fatal" blow to Britain's opponents. Nothing that has happened so far in any part of the world lends support to such an assertion. A minor victory here and a temporary success there, make no impression either on the friends of British imperialism or on Britain itself.

Roosevelt's imperialistic colleagues and collaborators know very well that the British Empire has come to the end of its day. Deliberately and in spite of this knowledge, the Americans have joined the British in this imperialistic war. There is, and can be, only one reason for this. President Roosevelt's imperialistic instinct is working behind the scenes. American imperialists see a great opportunity to enlarge the American Empire on the ashes of the British. It is the hope of inheriting the British Empire that has brought the United States of America into this war on the side of the dying British Lion. The Lend-Lease Agreement between America and Britain was initiated with the same motive. American occupation of so many tiny British Islands in the Atlantic is the beginning of a great end. To-day most of the British forces, not to speak of Australians

and Canadians, are fighting under American command. Churchill, the High Priest of British Imperialism, does not hesitate in distinguishing himself as the ardent lieutenant of the American President. Thus, not only the United States of America is an aspirant to the Imperial throne of the British, but the latter seems to have agreed to allow America to be the heir apparent. It is very natural, too. Knowing well that he cannot save the Empire for British vested interests and that the days of British imperialism are positively over, it is very natural for Mr. Churchill to wish that one of Anglo-Saxon race, their kith and kin, be allowed to inherit this vast empire. Under such arrangements Britain may naturally hope for some consideration and favourable treatment at the hands of the Americans. The chances are that all these will prove to be simply wishful thinking on the part of both Britain and America. Yet it is not unnatural to dream such pleasant dreams and we have no right to question it.

However, we, as Indians, are and ought naturally and positively to be concerned with the future of our own country. Those of us who are anxious to see our land of birth free from alien domination have only one problem before us and that is how to take the fullest advantage of the present rarest opportunity to make our country completely free. Although there may be various ways of looking at the problem and our opinions may differ regarding the ways and means of achieving this end, no patriotic Indian can think even for a moment that it is desirable for India to get rid of British imperialism only to come under the protection of another imperialistic nation. And yet we can see very clearly that America's ways of doing things in India is very suspicious, to say the least. The stationing of large American garrisons in India, the utterances of responsible American Statesmen regarding India, the American Government's refusal to clarify its motive in India, the sending of American missions to India for studying the political and economic situation

there, and the appointment of an American Ambassador, Mr. Philips, to India leave no doubt in the mind of the Indians that America is trying to play the same political game in India as she did in the Philippines, nearly half a century ago.

This is one of the greatest dangers that is threatening India to-day and the sooner we realise the danger the better will it be for our country's future. Not to realise this danger leaders of India did realise this danger and declared their will be closing our eyes to a most important fact. It will be really inviting catastrophe to our country. The Nationalist stand very clearly against American intervention in Indian affairs. They, through Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee, asked the Americans as well as the British to leave India. Mahatma Gandhi said in plain words that the much-advertised danger to India is of British making. There will be no danger to India and India will be quite safe if the Anglo-American forces retire from India. The Indian leaders, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, did not say so in so many words ; but, in asking Americans to leave India they certainly had in their mind the danger of the domination and occupation of India by Americans after the war. They knew that the days of the British in India are now limited. India is bound to be free when British imperialism is destroyed there. But, if the Americans station their troops in India and establish themselves there with the co-operation of the British it will be very hard for the Indians to fight this new enemy because all strongholds of British imperialism in India will be in the possession of the Americans and the British will guide them in suppressing our national demand with the help of all those elements which are at present co-operating with the British in India.

Our leaders have not attached much importance to British propaganda regarding the danger of a Japanese invasion or aggression. In fact Mahatma Gandhi has already declared that he hopes that Japan will make good her pro-



Shri Rash Behari Basu addresses the officers of the I. I. L. and I. N. A.

mises to India. Since the war of Greater East Asia has started and since the Government of Japan has declared its intentions to render all out aid to India in her war of independence against British imperialism, Premier General Tojo and other responsible statesmen of Japan have repeatedly assured the Indians that "Japan has no territorial, political, military or economic ambitions at all against India," and that "the two nations, Indians and the Japanese, will stand on an equal status as friendly nations on her attaining independence.

Those who know Japan and her people, not any one particular section of them, have no reason to believe that Japan is not sincere in her intentions. Certainly, if someone is bent upon creating mischief and is determined to find fault with others there can be no difficulty in finding fault with Japan. One can easily make use of an incident here and an incident there and exaggerate facts and place them before the world in such a way that people may have become puzzled and may accept fiction as a fact. It is a well known fact that the British are masters in this art of manufacturing fiction. In fact they so far developed and maintained their vast empire greatly with the help of this art. Except for some very simple minded persons, however, there are very few among the intelligent Indians at home who accept British propaganda against Japan without taking a good pinch of salt with it. Certainly the prominent leaders of the Congress would be the last to believe British imperialists when they said that Japan had an aggressive design against India.

With full understanding with Japan, the Indian Independence League Headquarters has been informing and assuring the people of India almost every day through our Radio Broadcast that even in bombarding the cities and the ports of India, Japan has no intention of harming the people in those places. We have informed our compatriots repeatedly that Japan hesitated again and again before bombarding our

cities and finally, when there was no other way to retaliate for the British mischief of repeated bombing of Japanese occupied areas in Burma etc., the Japanese army and navy have most reluctantly resorted to bombing Indian bases of Anglo-American imperialism in the Eastern part of India. Our Radio has been giving repeated suggestions and has been making repeated appeals to our compatriots in India that they should keep away from danger zones ; and, that workers in factories, dockyards, harbours, aerodromes, arsenals and military barracks should refrain from working in those places of danger. These were friendly warnings from Japan to our compatriots at home and were given out of their anxiety to avoid any harm or losses to Indians. Those who followed our request must have found that they were wiser in so doing. Since bombing has started it has become evident that the Japanese bombers are very accurate in their attack and that unlike their opponents they are not interested in non-military objectives. They have proved that they are true to their promises. It justifies Mahatma Gandhi's confidence in the Japanese promises.

Japan has declared time and again that Japan will attack India only if India is used by the Anglo-American imperialists for their war operations against Japan. They have declared from Japan that once India is free from the British yoke, they will respect her complete freedom and recognise her as a sovereign state. Japan's position is vividly clear and does not invite suspicion at all. It needs very little intelligence to convince anyone that in order to bring the Greater East Asia War to a successful conclusion it is absolutely necessary for Japan to destroy all such Anglo-American bases from where they can attack Japanese occupied areas by land, sea or air. It needs no mention that India is one of the most important of such places. Japan therefore must see that Anglo-American power and influence in India comes to an end so that the enemy's efforts will be paralysed and Japan will be victorious in this area. Japan believes that a free

India will understand more clearly that Japan is not an enemy of humanity as has been stated by the enemies of Japan.

The British rule in India must end. The alien army of occupation must get out of India. The British exploitation of Indian resources for the imperialist war must be stopped. On these points there can be no two opinions among patriotic Indians. What more does Japan want or expect in India? Mahatma Gandhi and the other leaders of the Congress having realised this position, and having discredited British propaganda desired to protect Indians from the untold miseries and sufferings of a conflagration and asked the British to help them in their effort. For this most humane demand they were declared as dangerous and harmful persons to the State and were thrown behind prison bars. Since the 8th August peaceful and innocent Indians in hundreds and thousands are being subjected to all sorts of atrocities and are facing a great inhuman onslaught from the British forces of destruction in India.

There are some misguided Indians in India who still believe that Britain will come out victorious in this war. They are therefore trying to support the British tyrants and their American allies in strengthening India's bondage. So far as the Indian nationalism is concerned they are traitors to our cause of freedom and are the fifth-columnists of British imperialism in India. The time is fast approaching when they will be brought to justice. They can never be treated as Indians who stood by India in her time of greatest need. The time is fast approaching when British imperialism in India will be a thing of the past and India will be governed by Indians, for the Indians; and, there will be no alien influence of any kind there. India will be free to choose her own friends and establish contact with those nations who will be really helpful and friendly to India. India will remain ever grateful to all those nations who will have helped India honestly and sincerely in her efforts to be free. But those

nations who have failed or have deceived her, those nations who have taken a mean advantage of her present critical position, will have to pay the penalty for their misdeeds.

To-day our paramount duty is to nip the mischief at its very conception, and thus avoid the risk of failure. If once a country like America gets a foothold in the soils of India it will need greater strength to uproot it and we will have to make new sacrifices. We must decide to strike a decisive blow against American imperialism in India now so that it may not be able to raise its venomous head at any time in the future. We must destroy all the possibilities of making mistakes and committing blunders and must not take any chance. The destruction of Anglo-American influence and interest in India root and branch must be our chief aim. That will bring deliverance from the continued, unimaginable miseries and sufferings of our people, our teeming millions. That will bring us our much desired national unity. That will give us the opportunity to mould our country's destiny according to the needs and requirements of our people. "BEAWARE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" should be one of our most urgent slogans in this fight for our freedom. British Imperialism is bad but the American brand is like its own special rattle-snake, extremely venomous and must be destroyed by a telling blow. That is India's job. It must be done.

1943.

Bande Mataram.



A meeting at 'HIBIYA PUBLIC HALL' on 19th Dec. 1940. Sponsored by "Kooagi Kai" .
Shri Rash Behari Basu is seen addressing.

Our Freedom and Japan

Pledge of Indians

Indians in Japan took the following pledge of freeing their country on the occasion of the Independence Day, January, 26th:—

We hereby solemnly pledge that no matter how severe our hardships in future may be, we shall never rest idle even momentarily, day and night, until the day when we hoist our flag of freedom everywhere of our motherland.

We hereby solemnly pledge that no matter how tremendous the hardships may be, we shall readily sacrifice ourselves for the cause of our beloved motherland.

We hereby solemnly pledge that no matter how severe the hardships may be, we shall co-operate for annihilation of our foe to liberate our motherland from their yoke by which our country is bound unfortunately.

We hereby solemnly pledge that no matter how horrible the hardships may be, we shall readily respond to the call to drive our foe away with our hands back to their own land beyond the sea.

We hereby solemnly pledge that no matter how severe the hardships may be, we shall sacrifice every and all of our possession, even our child or our wife to fulfill our pledge for the sake of our beloved motherland because we are her sons.

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE DECLARATION

For the past 13 years Indian patriots all over the world have read this Declaration of Independence on this day of January 26th to renew their pledge for the last stage of the fight for Indian independence.

During the period of our independence struggle there have been vicissitudes and changes of strategy in our movement to meet changing circumstances.

However the purpose of the movement has remained consistent, namely, a complete independence of India—and India is now gradually approaching that goal.

DECLARATION

We believe that it is a God-sent privilege of the Indian people that we enjoy freedom and fruits of our labour and thus take part in our national development.

We also believe that we have the right to reform or abolish the system of a foreign government which deprives us of such privileges of our people.

The British Government in India has not only deprived such freedom of the Indian people but also has built their own foothold to exploit the labour of the Indian people and thus has driven India to devastation economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.

Therefore we firmly believe that we should sever our entire relations with the British so that we may attain complete independence.

India has been completely devastated economically. The tax on general Indian people is preposterously heavy against them in proportion to their income. The average income of an Indian is seven pies per day (less than 5 cents). The land tax on farmers is 20 per cent. of this land revenue. The salt tax, too, heavily burdens the people living on minimum subsistence income. Handicraft industry in rural areas like hand spinning has been totally destroyed to such extent that peasants have to live without any income for four months a year. Their skill in handicraft has been left to a degrading state. Thus the small industry of India is dead because of prohibitive measures.

In the matters of customs duty and currency, Indian farmers are suffering increasingly heavy burdens despite the fact that the Britishers are producing a huge amount of goods in India exceeding the total output of India's imports.

Luxurious administrative expenses of the British Government are being paid by the blood and sweat of general Indian people. In addition to that, a huge amount of India's wealth is yearly flowing out to Britain due to a preposterous foreign exchange rate against Indians.

To-day the political position of Indians has been reduced to the bottom under the British rule. No improvement has been done to bear political fruits for the Indian people.

Freedom of speech and freedom of assembly have been totally suppressed in India. And many of our countrymen have to live in exile in foreign lands and they can hardly expect to return to their motherland during their life-time.

All able administrators among our fellow countrymen have been killed and the Indian people in general have no means to challenge petty British officers and secretaries.

The Indian educational system which has a long cultural tradition has been completely destroyed.

Indians are totally disarmed and are made helpless against the barbarism of the foreign troops in their land, thus eventually leading our people to resort to lootings and violence.

How can we tolerate such rule which has brought such sufferings to our fatherland? We know that such British rule is the worst of crimes against humanity and God.

However we realise that the most effective means left for us in order to attain our freedom should be a non-violent resistance. Therefore we are ready to part ourselves from all organisations connected with the British Government, to be disobedient to all British laws including the matter of tax payment.

We firmly believe that with non-violence and disobedience we can put an end to this ruthless British rule by our hands.

Therefore we solemnly pledge hereby that we shall obey the orders of the Congress to be issued from time to time

for the purpose of attaining complete independence of our country.

INDIANS RISE FOR FREEDOM .

There is little doubt that the celebrations of Indian independence observed every year on January 26th are scoring a big success not only in India, but also in other Asian areas to enhance the moral of our people. Patriots of our countrymen must have defied firings by Britishers in order to observe this big commemorative day in one way or other. When we know this, we can say with conviction that the organisation of the Indian Independence League has attained a successful stage throughout Asia with unstinted supports of local Indians.

Despite the information disseminated by the India's foe, our countrymen residing in Far East are really patriotic and are co-operating for our struggle for freedom. Formerly these people excepting for a minor exceptional cases were believed to be promoters of British imperialism.

Indeed it was sadly true that they were reluctant to give any support whatsoever to the movement for Indian independence and even they did not care to hoist the Indian national flag on national holidays of Indians. They even piped up to praise the glory of the British rule.

This was all due to the British propaganda which said that the Indian people in these areas are warmly protected by British rule.

But these things proved to be false during the past one year.

There is no doubt that those Indian nationals now come to observe most spontaneously and with all patriotic minds the memorial day of the nation's awakening.

Some one may question: "Why didn't they dare to express such feelings one year ago?"

The answer is very clear. "It is because of a ruthless British rule in these areas."

Even to-day there are several mean Indians who have been so degraded as to willingly work for British imperialism. But they are exceptions now.

Generally speaking, the patriotism of Indians was suppressed. Due to various reasons the Indians in these areas avoided to offend their British rulers.

In a free country like Thailand a British diplomatic representative called local Indian merchants for a meeting and then he brazenly intimidated them because of their "inimical" activities including attendance at conferences of Indians or donating money to Indian cultural funds etc. These Indians, however, refrained from offending the British officer just because they knew that he would hardly accept any explanations or excuses.

They loved their motherland but they wanted to avoid any trouble with the British authorities and dared not face the reality. They were not prepared to bother themselves about the problem of India.

They were inexperienced in the national movement and were not sufficiently trained in co-operation.

But when British imperialism receded from these areas, the Indian residing in these areas found themselves free and awakened to the courage of their forefathers. And thus they began to show their latent courage which had long been pluming in themselves. And they came to positively participate in the national movement.

After the Indian Independence League was organised, representatives of Indian residents gathered in Bangkok from all corners of Asia on June 15, 1942 to participate in the historic conference of Indian independence which was convened to organize a national movement for the emancipation of India from foreign rule. Thereupon British propagandists staged a campaign to tell the world that "the Indian independence movement is not a spontaneous move-

ment of Indians but it is a campaign engineered by Indian who are puppets of Japan." This is a usual trick which Britishers always use to counter any strong opposition. What we should never forget is that particular statement by Winston Churchill. He stated that India is respecting the blissful British rule and Indian are supporting Britain. He did brazenly state that the Congress is an organisation of bigotted demagogues.

But owing to a tremendous zeal of our countrymen, every false propaganda was shattered. And on the occasion of the anniversary of the Independence Declaration, the falsehood of the British charge was laid bare most eloquently by the whole-hearted support of the entire Indian residents in Asia to the national freedom movement.

The Indian residents in Far East rose with determination to fight for the cause of liberation of India. They not only love their motherland but they heartily wish to see it liberated. They fervently hope that they can prosper as merchants of an independent nation, because they know that they could realize more profits than they do at present if India becomes free.

As colonial people, they have experienced inconveniences not only in their daily life but also in their economic activities in no small measure. Indian merchants abroad know well about huge profits British merchants used to be getting under direct and indirect aids of their home government. No matter how clever Indian merchants might be and how hard they might try, they have to satisfy themselves with the crumbs from the British table.

The Indian merchants know well that they could restore their prestige as pioneers in trade if India becomes independent when they could expect all possible assistance from their own government.

They know well, too, that no matter how rich and able they may be, they could hardly enjoy any respectable life

both in their country or abroad without favour from the British rulers.

Not only merchants but also people in other occupations suffered humiliations at the hands of British authorities in their respective areas.

They have now opened their eyes to the unreasonable treatment they had to suffer under British imperialists.

On the strength of casual instances, Britain is disseminating dilatory propaganda about Indians. They say Indians are too incompetent to govern themselves etc. And our countrymen while they knew this was a crooked trick were quite helpless to counter their propaganda.

Hence it is but a natural turn of event that our patriotic countrymen have now positively risen in unity to join in our national movement to eradicate the British footholds in India and other areas of Asia. There is little doubt in that these awakened people will fight through until their final goal is attained.

That is why they celebrated the anniversary of the declaration of Indian independence from the bottom of their hearts and renewed their pledge to make all-out efforts for independence of India.

India to-day stands on the threshold to attain a complete independence which has long been a cherished dream of all Indians throughout the world. Several tens of million of Indians have pledged solemnly to sacrifice all and everything for a complete eradication of the ruthless British rule for attainment of independence of their motherland. Indian women, too, stinted no effort to live up to their solemn pledge for liberation of their motherland.

At this very moment many of our countrymen in India are following the footsteps of many of our martyrs who laid down their lives for the noble cause of Indian independence. They will live for ever in our memories.

As the attention of the entire Indians in the world is being focussed on this day of the anniversary of Indian in-

dependence declaration, the determined fight of Indians against British imperialism is reaching its last phase toward victory.

The prestige of British authorities in India is down; their war efforts in India have been paralysed and their footholds for colonial exploitation have been badly dislocated.

Their fate in India is numbered. Nothing can check the rooling down of the British rule in India.

Thus the anniversary of Indian independence declaration will go down in history as a memorable landmark of the struggle for Indian independence.

Indeed it is the first time that Indians have risen to fight Britishers and it is also unprecedented that the Anglo-American imperialism has suffered a miserable defeat by Japan. The powerful nation of Japan has pledged to give us all-out aids in order to defeat Britain, a common foe of Japan. Now the invincible Japanese army have opened their determined fight against the Anglo-American citadel in India.

Our victory over Britain is now written on the wall. We are getting a determined support of the powerful Japanese nation. It will be in no distant future that a revolution will flare up in the entire land of India and the brave Japanese troops will converge on the Indian border to wipe out the British influence from all corners of India.

Firmly believing in the achievement of a complete Indian independence, the Indian people both in their home land and abroad are attaching much importance to this day of the anniversary of Indian independence declaration.

Observance of this anniversary of the Indian independence declaration in various places of the world thus has a tremendous significance particularly coming at a time when our victory is near at hand.

Tens of millions of our brothers and sisters back in our motherland are enduring limitless sufferings and sacrifices in their sacred mission for a complete liberation of our

motherland from the British yoke. To respond to their efforts we Indians residing overseas should stint no effort to co-operate with our brothers and sisters at home to fulfil our duties. It is our regret that ten of thousands of our patriots including such able leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan etc. are imprisoned by British authorities. Our countrymen back in India are putting up their heroic fight in defiance of difficulties created by imprisonment of many of their leaders. But we Indians residing in the Far East believe that the day will come soon when we can also personally participate in the sacred war for the liberation of our motherland.

I humbly express my sincere gratitude to my countrymen who are putting up their self-sacrificing and heroic fights even at this very moment. All I can assure them to-day with my conviction is that almighty God wishes India to become free. And India will surely become free. The day of our victory is close at hand. The day of India's liberation is just around the corner.

Bande Mataram.

January 26th, 1931 is the most commemorative milestone in our struggle for national independence. On this very day our countrymen openly raised a banner for a complete and absolute independence of India, severing all ties with the British authorities for our noble course. We do not hesitate to decry the demonish nature of British rule. Until this day there were individuals and organisations which had to court the favour of callous British people, but they also shall join the resistance movement against Britain. Of course we refused to make any compromise with Britishers but we were determined to wipe out the British influence on our soil. The activities of the Congress Party from this day onward will consolidate our determination more and more.

On January 26th, 1931, our countrymen gathered in all towns and villages to tell the world how ruthlessly and mercilessly India had been stripped spiritually, culturally, economically and politically by the British rule. The British rule of India is the most deplorable crime not only against humanity but against God. Therefore it is a rightful duty of the entire Indian people to fight to end the British rule.

Our pledge has been renewed year after year but British authorities made every effort to suppress the evicent expression of the will of the Indian people. But the severer became British suppression, the stronger became the determination of our countrymen to fight it back. Millions of our countrymen who are defiantly fighting up against the ruthless armed suppression of Britishers are meeting on this day to renew their fighting spirit. British authorities will unleash their rampage on our countrymen observing this day for Indians all over India. So my heart aches when I think of our countrymen exposed to the ruthless suppression of Britishers. They must be subjected to all kinds of violence at the hands of Britishers by bullets, horse shoes, whips and imprisonments etc. But no violence will make them flinch from their duties. My blood boils when I think of the hard plight under which our brothers and sisters are struggling for our national cause.

Our countrymen in the Far East, we are having the first opportunity this year to put our pledge to test. You will rise up to fulfil your pledge with the least hesitation. I heartily hope that you meet together in towns and villages to enunciate your firm determination to join your comrades in the fight against our common enemy.

Now let us make this day a day to reflect on your past deeds and make up our minds about what should be done immediately. Let not a single member of our countrymen remain aloof from our fight for national independence. Let not a single Indian forget his duty to his fatherland.

From this day onward, regardless of our individual stand-

ings in life, we all shall stand in unity under the banner of Indian independence. Let not our precious time be spent leisurely. Let us discard all obnoxious ideas which may only hamper the execution of our sublime duties.

Brothers and Sisters, let us march forward for the freedom and glory of our motherland.

Bande Mataram.

**DISCOURSES ON CULTURAL
AND
NATIONAL SUBJECTS**

Introduction

Man can only act when he has formative ideas. He can act intelligently when such ideas have been well inculcated and organized in his mind. Even the soldiers in a modern Army must act intelligently, sheer valour being not enough. Best results are only produced when valour and intelligence are combined ; and such a combination can only take place when there is a firm conviction about the action to be taken. We must fight hard for our freedom. But we can fight better when we can fight with a conviction for a particular cause or principle. It is, therefore, essential for us all to imbibe the spirit of our struggle.

Principle or conviction about a cause can only be successful when that idea or principle has been thoroughly inculcated in the minds of all men engaged in the struggle. And for that purpose repeated presentation in desirable variations of form of that idea or principle is necessary. This inculcation of spirit becomes more impressive and effective, if it is carried out *pari passu* and through educational and cultural developments.

The ignorance of our people is colossal and the time at our disposal is short. Therefore, every opportunity and every channel should be utilised to impart necessary knowledge to every man as far as possible. After imbibing this knowledge when a person begins to act, it is only then that the utility of such knowledge is realised. It is a well-known fact now, that even a Japanese soldier can be depended upon a lot, for initiative and responsibility, for he is educated, while the Indian as a rule is not.

In our struggle for the independence of our country, we will all have to fight ; some with the rifle, some with their brains, and others with their wealth. In fact several of us

are doing so now. Many more will have to do and harder.

We will have to go through a modern War, which is really a war, more of brains than of brawn. It is more a war of nerves, more of psychological factors, than sheer valour and muscular energy. A tiny small person can be just as much or even more brave than a person who is heavily built. The example of Napoleon is famous. Physically, he was a small man as compared to many. It is, therefore, very desirable that those in authority should impart this education in an intensive manner but in as varied a form as possible. In order to give facility for this purpose to all concerned, including volunteers, a series of short articles have been prepared, which may be used for lectures or informal talks that may be held on suitable occasions. At the end of several articles a number of points have been inserted so that the speaker may bring in these points on different occasions on the same subject and deal with them. This will bring in varied forms and is likely to make the talk more interesting and thus attract the attention of the listeners.

But it has to be emphasised that because of the low standard of education of our men, we have got to repeat many of the subjects and yet while doing so, they should be presented in different forms as far as possible.

REVERE GOD AND LOVE MANKIND

From time immemorial man has looked up to some Supernatural Power for strength, courage and determination in times of distress and sorrow. And in times of peace and happiness he has tried to understand the Creator himself and of the universe around him. Different names have been applied to this Power by different people. But the vast majority of the civilised people have accepted this Power as God. We begin to realise the existence of the Creator—

God—when we begin to contemplate the marvellous universe around us, when we consider its magnificence and beauty and when we consider the regularity of the Laws of Nature that are constantly working in and around us. We begin to realise God when we see and experience His All-permeating Love and Grace. Without His Love, without His Grace, without His Mercy, man cannot live happily.

All over the world the vast masses of population worship God in some form or other. Some mediate on this supernatural power or being, while others try to concentrate their minds on a God who is formless. Whatever may be the line of approach towards Him, and whatever may be the religious denomination to which a person belongs, the essential fact remains that all have accepted that there is a God. He is the fountain-head of everything. He is the creator, protector and destroyer of all living and dead material. God is Omnipotent, Omnipresent and Omniscient. The whole universe is within Him and He is pervading all living or dead, and all good or evil. God is great. He is Infinite, but He can manifest Himself through the finite and yet He is not limited by Time and Space. He is Eternal. He is merciful and responds to true and determined human prayers. Ordinarily he is beyond the reach of the senses and yet He has been perceived and even seen by supermen whom some call as Incarnations or Prophets. There is no doubt that through deep and regular meditation one gets that balance and peace of mind which is not ordinarily obtainable—and through such concentrated and sustained meditation the Supermen realises God. We too should devote a part of our time every day in meditation upon Him. This would give us courage, confidence, balanced judgment, love, happiness and peace. We Indians have a glorious tradition of spirituality. We should do all we can to keep that ideal as a living force.

The relationship between God and Man may be as sweet as that between a father and son, between a friend and friend,

between a lover and the beloved. Whenever one wants to do anything one should meditate upon Him and try to get an answer from Him for that purpose. If sufficient concentration is exercised during the meditation, He responds to our prayers at the right moment. We must revere and love God.

We should certainly act and do things but we should never do it for a selfish motive and in every case we should leave the fruit of action for Him to decide. It is a well known fact that God helps those who help themselves. One cannot get God's blessings by doing nothing. One must think and act rightly at the right time. Then we would be able to see the beautiful unfolding of His Grace which will give us peace and happiness.

God is the ideal of life. He is man's guide and philosopher. In order to relieve distress, destroy the evil and protect the noble. He has manifested Himself at different times and in different parts of the world.

Man is the best creation of God. God is present every where and so is present in every individual. As God loves His creation it is the essential duty of man to love his fellow beings without restriction of caste or creed. If one truly reveres and loves God, one must love humanity too. Through love of humanity and acting on that principle, men can achieve great results, and reach to very great heights. It is also a well known fact that "Love conquers all". A person may hate you but if you go on loving him returning good for evil, a time must come when normally he should respond to your sense of love. Love should be the basis of all our actions towards humanity. In spite of troubles, strife and wars, we see all around us in the world the manifestations of His love and feel that love is all-permeating. It is up to us to love our own fellow beings, do all we can to relieve their misery and help them to have a better life, physically, mentally and spiritually. This could only be achieved through love of humanity.

DISCIPLINE

Discipline means instinctive obedience to laws that relate to an individual and acting in conformity to them at the proper time and place.

Discipline for the soldier means implicit obedience to laws and rules and upholding the honour of the Army, irrespective of the fact whether a senior officer is present or not at the time.

Discipline is the foundation of the Army's efficiency.

A true soldier is one who is really imbued with the spirit of strictest discipline. With him discipline is instinctive.

Discipline is the foundation for success.

Discipline is essential for all.

Discipline must be observed not merely by the soldier, but by us all in our day to day life. In short it should regulate our life.

Discipline cannot be acquired at a moment's notice. It has to be instilled and practised from day to day and wherever occasion arises. It depends upon the Father, Mother, the Teacher and the Commander how they instill the spirit of discipline into those who are under their care. God personality and courteous but firm behaviour on their part will go a long way in instilling discipline even amongst the rough and the uncouth. But to a great extent the ultimate practice of discipline depends largely upon the individual himself particularly when he is grown up. If the foundation of character is laid down in childhood, properly by the parents and teacher and if the child comes from a good stock, imbibing of the spirit of discipline and carrying it out into practice, will be comparatively easier than if the case was just the opposite. Still by constant and intensive training and by courteous and firm handling, a rough stone as an untrained or uneducated person is, can be made good and

polished to shine like a brilliant gem, as an accomplished person should be.

A well disciplined Army, can achieve marvels in face of heavy odds. Examples of such achievements are present throughout the period of human history. It was the well disciplined army of Nippon which conquered 203 Metre Hill in the siege of Port Arthur against stupendous difficulties. It was the well disciplined army of Nippon which won the battle of Mukden against a much larger Russian Force. Similarly it was the sense of discipline which enabled small groups of Rajputs and Maharattas to fight against heavier odds. It was this spirit of discipline which enabled Chand Bibi to defend her Fortress successfully.

In a struggle like that of ours, success can only be achieved when every single individual is instilled with the spirit of discipline individually as well as collectively until it becomes almost instinctive. Therefore every individual must be individually taken care of in this respect, just as the smallest part of a machinery say of a factory has got to be carefully looked after in order that the whole installation may work smoothly.

Points :

1. Always speak the truth, liar is never respected.
2. Always uphold the honour of the Army.
3. A man must exercise initiative and determination in his work.
4. Always respect the honour of those who are under your protection.
- g. All lawful commands must be obeyed.
6. Be loyal to your seniors.
7. Be punctual. Never be late in your work.
8. Discharge your duties faithfully.
9. Exercise daily.
10. First obey and then you will learn how to command.

11. Give up your seat for a senior or a lady when in gathering or in a conference.
12. Give credit to your leader for any achievement in an action, no matter how much you may have done.
13. Have confidence in yourself.
14. Keep secrets closely guarded.
16. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
17. Maintain strict self-discipline. This is the foundation of success in life.
18. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
19. Obey orders implicitly and carry them out intelligently.
20. Respect the honour of a woman like that of your mother.
21. Resist temptation manfully. If you are unable to resist, get away from the temptation.
22. Trust in God and do the right.
23. When travelling in a tram car or bus, give up your seat for an elderly man, woman or child. Never rush.
24. When there are large number of people to get something say tickets in the railway station or cinema, stand in a queue.
25. Don't betray confidence.
26. Don't discuss your seniors. This is bad discipline. Remember, if you do, you too may be discussed by your subordinates.
27. Don't get drunk and make a fool of yourself. Alcohol is neither a food nor a necessity.
28. Don't relax until you have achieved your objective and have consolidated it.
29. Don't hesitate to admit a mistake. It will show up your courage and character.
30. Don't express disagreement in a gathering or conference against your leader. If you have divergence of views, settle it up with him first.

31. Don't break up a queue and rush forward.
 32. Never dishonour yourself ; death is preferable.
 33. Never lose your character. A characterless man is dangerous and is a disgrace.
 34. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day. Remember a stitch in time saves nine.
 35. Never vacillate. Vacillation is the deathknell to success.
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PUNCTUALITY

Punctuality means strict adherence to the appointed time. In the practical field punctuality means performance of work at the time fixed for the purpose. Adherence to the time schedule in the performance of work in the daily life of an individual is of very great significance, particularly, if he wants to achieve success ; and for the Army it is of utmost importance for its efficiency and success in warfare.

Every individual must have an appointed time to get up from his bed in the morning time and go to bed at night. He must go for calls of nature early in the morning and have his ablutions at the time fixed for the purpose. Similarly, he should take his meals at the appointed time. Adherence to all these, trains the body and you feel the calls of nature as well as appetite at the time to which you accustom yourself.

Punctuality leads to great economy in time and time is money. Lack of punctuality in our daily life seriously interferes with our work and efficiency. For example if we do not go for calls of nature first thing in the morning our bowels remain constipated ; we may get a call of nature at the time when we cannot leave our work or at place where there are no facilities. Similarly, with regard to food and sleep. If we do not stick to a time schedule, we may feel

hungry at a time when no food is available or we may go back to our place of eating so late that only cold food may be available or even none at all. Similarly, if we do not go to bed in time we cannot get sufficient rest during the night and cannot therefore, get up early in the morning, which again interferes with our efficiency and work on the following day.

Punctuality in all these habits means maintenance and even improvement of health. This puts into us a certain amount of reserve power which we may need when on account of the exigencies of service we are unable to strictly adhere to the time routine of our daily life.

Punctuality is of utmost importance at the time of a crisis. Famous battles have been lost and empires have been ruined because of the lack of punctuality. It was five minutes' delay of Marshal Ney, to reach the battle-field of Waterloo, that Napoleon lost that famous battle in the history of the world and the first French Empire was lost.

Nature herself works in a time schedule. Seasons come at regular intervals in the fixed period of the year. Summer never occurs when it is time for winter. Machinery made by man also performs its duties at the rates adjusted by man himself. It goes on functioning to the correct time at the speed fixed for it. There is no reason why man should not adhere to a time schedule and be punctual in the performance of his work.

The following points may be remembered in this connection :

1. Be honest in all your dealings and work, for it is the best policy.
2. Conserve energy and resources.
3. Discharge your duties faithfully.
4. Fight hard for your country.
5. Take precautionary measures always in time, whether it is against disease, enemy attacks or politics. Remember prevention is better than cure.

6. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.
 7. Knowledge is power, acquire it.
 8. Never betray your Motherland
 9. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.
 10. Never vacillate. Vacillation is the death-knell of success.
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CHARACTER

Character is the sum total of one's own actions and is the outward expression of the mental faculties which are working within us. In order, therefore, to develop a good character the mind must be properly trained. Our minds must work under a good influence. The two of the best such influences are (i) personal example and (ii) precept by education imparted by a person who is properly qualified to do so. Precept has a much greater effect on the individual when it is followed up by personal example by the person who imparts such education to the individual. In any case the educator must be in a position to influence the individual who receives the education.

Undoubtedly the foundation of character is laid in childhood. But it is also true that later influences do have an effect on character which may change and develop in an entirely new manner, particularly if such influences are psychological in nature.

The value of a man is according to the character he possesses. The way he lives, the way he behaves, the way he deals with his fellow human beings, nay, the way he deals with all that is living, shows his character. A lot of human character is inherent in the individual to begin with, that is, he begins to show early signs of his character even in his childhood but a very great deal can be moulded by suitable education and environmental influences.

Character can be developed by imparting suitable education at proper times in a methodical manner and by personal examples particularly of those in authority. We can mould the character of our men a very great deal. We should make every effort to build up our own character.

A man with good character will do the right thing in the right way and at the right time and place. He will not demean himself or do wrong deliberately. For the developing of character, one has to put the individual in possession of necessary knowledge.

The individual with a firm character will never fall a prey to temptations, will never betray confidence, will never easily retreat from the field of battle and will never become a traitor to his Mother-country. On the other hand, a characterless person is not only useless but is dangerous too. He can never command the respect of men. Nor can he be fully trusted.

From the above it is evident, that to ourselves and to the world outside our personal character is of the utmost importance.

We must remember that character is built up gradually as a result of our daily thoughts, habits and actions. The better these are, the better is our character. It is a well known saying that you sow an idea and reap a thought, you sow a thought and reap an action, sow an action and reap a habit, and sow a habit and reap a character.

It is therefore essential that we give close attention to the details of daily life of our own and try our best to avoid doing anything which is likely to have any undesirable effect on our character. The more we are careful in such matters, the better would be the development of our character.

The following points should be emphasised in this connection :—

1. Discipline—Obedience of Orders; Carrying out one's duties faithfully.
2. Habit of punctuality in taking food, carrying out

ablutions at the proper time, in arriving on duty or parade in time etc.

3. Protecting the honour of women or of those under our protection.
4. Attacking the enemy bravely without any fear whatsoever.
5. Intense Love of Our Motherland.
6. Burning National Spirit.
7. Sense of Justice and Equity.
8. Tolerance to Religious Feelings of Others.
9. Broad outlook of Universal Brotherhood.
10. Achievement of Independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
11. Administer justice, tempered with mercy.
12. Always speak the truth ; a liar is never respected.
13. Always encourage the spirit of young men. Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.
14. Always respect the honour of those who are under your protection.
15. Always stand up when a senior comes in.
16. Always be polite. It costs nothing.
17. Be tolerant to the opinions of others.
18. Be honest in all your dealings and work, for it is the best policy.
19. Be loyal to your seniors.
20. Be punctual. Never be late in your work.
21. Cultivate the spirit of self-help.
22. Cultivate the spirit of chivalry. Remember that the spirit of Indian chivalry is famous in history.
23. Fight hard for your country.
24. Keep secrets closely guarded.
25. Live and let live.
26. Love and respect men and they will love and respect you.

27. Maintain strict self-discipline. This is the foundation of success.
28. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
29. Have healthy recreation and exercise. These are excellent safeguards against venereal diseases.
30. Respect the honour of a woman like that of your mother.
31. Religion pertains to the individual. It is what you live.
32. Resist temptation manfully. If you are unable to resist, get away from the temptation.
33. Rudeness is a sign of lack of self-control and low-breeding.
34. Rectify a wrong whenever you can ; it is never too late to mend.
35. Show the utmost tolerance in matters religious.
36. Trust in God and do the right.
37. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.
38. When travelling in a tram car or bus, give up your seat for an elderly man, woman or child. Never rush.
39. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try again and again.
40. Don't betray confidence.
41. Don't get drunk and make a fool of yourself. Alcohol is neither a food nor a necessity.
42. Don't hesitate to take the initiative in a good cause.
43. Don't kill your conscience.
44. Don't brag or boast about your capabilities.
45. Don't hesitate to admit a mistake. It will show up your courage and character.
46. Don't dishonour a fallen enemy.
47. Never dishonour yourself ; death is preferable.
48. Never lose your character. A characterless man is dangerous and is a disgrace.

49. Never betray your Motherland.
50. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day. Remember a stitch in time saves nine.
51. Never vacillate. Vacillation is the deathknell of success.
52. Never backbite or carry tales. It demeans you and lowers your self-respect.
53. Whenever you wish to throw mud on others, remember a little of it sticks to your fingers.
54. Don't use profane language or commit a bad deed. Remember every profane word you speak or bad deed you do, leaves a track in your brain which predisposes you to repeat them. Be careful.
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LOVE OF MOTHERLAND

Whenever an individual is civilised or uncivilised, he likes and loves the country in which he is born. This is normal and should be so. Only when there is perversion, extreme ignorance or racial prejudice that one does not love the country where he is born. For example, no Englishman, born in India, will call himself an Indian. Yet, if he is born in Australia or Canada, he will call himself an Australian or a Canadian. This is due to sheer prejudice against Indians. It is well-known that even a wild animal does not easily leave its lair. Even the semicivilised peoples love their hearth and home. The more a person is civilised the greater should be his love of his Motherland. If he has got that, his National Spirit rises and he is capable of offering the highest sacrifice if it is required of him for the sake of his Motherland.

In all free countries, the spirit of love of Motherland is nurtured right from the beginning, i.e., it is infused amongst the children of the nation, so that by the time they

reach manhood they are fully imbued with this unshakable love for their Mother-country. (Home sweet home).

This love for the homeland serves as a bulwark against foreign invasion or domination by other countries, for the people imbued with such love for their own country will never yield to others and agree to be enslaved. It was this love of Motherland which roused the National Spirit of the Greeks and thus enabled time and again a much smaller number of them, to save their country being conquered by a far superior number of Persians.

This love for the Motherland gives a great fillip for National Service, whether it be in educating his own countrymen, in industrialising the country, in joining the military service particularly in times of danger, in improving the agriculture of the country, in looking after the sick and destitute or in the promotion of general welfare of the people.

This love for the Motherland kindles in the mind of the individual, the spirit of sacrifice for the humanity in general and for his own people in particular. The love of Motherland enables a person to rise to great heights and put up at the service of the country all that he possesses. In other words, it engenders the noble spirit of sacrifice, which we need so much at this juncture. It enables an individual to undergo great hardships and suffering. Our great leaders of the Congress have demonstrated that by their noble personal examples. Tens of thousands have sacrificed their lives, hundreds of thousands have suffered jail, incarcerations and fines. We should be grateful to them and learn a most excellent lesson from them in this spirit of sacrifice for our Motherland.

There are many examples of utmost bravery and sacrifice shown by individuals as well as nations for the love of their Motherland. The example of William Tell, who shot an apple placed on the head of his son for the sake of freedom of his country, (Switzerland), is well-known. The Nipponese are also famous for the love of their country.

The defence of their homes and hearths by the Rajputs against repeated invasions from outside has also become famous in history. Such examples bring hope and cheer to those who are poor in the country and greatly augment the National Spirit.

• We Indians should intensely LOVE OUR MOTHER-LAND—INDIA, and be proud of being Indians. It is our country which has given light and civilisation to nearly a third of the human population of the world. It was our country, in which some of the highest forms of ethics and philosophy have been produced. It was a woman of our country (lilavati) who evolved the System of Algebra—a most useful branch of Mathematics. It was in our country where the decimal system of Mathematics was also evolved. It was in our country where the game of Polo originated. Indian chivalry has also been famous in history. Indian womanhood is second to none in their chastity and virtue. And there is not a kinder and devoted mother than the Indian. It was India which led the world for centuries in commerce and shipping. Indian muslin and cotton goods were famous, throughout the world.

Our country has the highest mountains and possesses some of the most beautiful and gorgeous natural sceneries in the world. It has a large number of majestic rivers which have provided water for the irrigation of vast corn fields, that we possess from time immemorial. Our country possesses nearly every natural resource that is required by man. Our country can produce all that is required in our daily life. But we have been prevented and thwarted from doing so by the British.

• Our arts and crafts have been unsurpassed in the world. The sculpture and paintings of our Motherland have been unique and a type by themselves. A country which possesses the Taj, the Temples of Madura and Ellora, Dilwara, the Pearl Mosque of Agra and magnificent paintings

in the cave temples of Ajanta can well be proud of its achievements.

It is in India, that for the first time, it was proved scientifically that there is actual life even among the plants. It is in Indian that the same science of Astronomy was developed, in the ancient times and that knowledge imparted to other countries.

It is our civilisation which preached for the first time, in the history of mankind the principle of Universal relationship. It is our civilisation, which grew up by the unique process of synthesis, that is by assimilation and not by analysis as in case of the western civilisation. We should keep this genius alive and make it again a powerful living force. It is our Motherland who gave shelter to all who came in to seek refuge. Are not these factors a glorious heritage?

A country which has produced a series of great men from time immemorial is certainly not a country to be derided. A country which has produced even during the modern times great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad, S. C. Bose and Nehru, great poets and philosophers like Tagore and Iqbal, great Scientist like J. C. Bose and P. C. Roy, great industrialists like Tatas and Hirachand, is certainly as glorious as any other country in the world. We ought to be proud of our Motherland. We must free her now. If we do that, we will be able to regain our legitimate position in the comity of nations of the world. We must prove to the world that our zeal and love for our dear Motherland is second to none. We must not leave any stone unturned for achieving the freedom of our Motherland. We must not shirk from any sacrifice that we may be called upon to make, for achieving the independence of our Motherland. We must realise that no sacrifice is too great or too high. We must trust in God and go on doing our utmost until we achieve that goal. We should have complete faith in Him that He will guide us

on the truth path if we too strive our best. God helps those who help themselves.

We have, a glorious past and tradition of which we can be well proud of. But we must never rest on our oars. It is upto us now to reach and surpass that summit. While bearing in mind the past we must create a better future even. And of the latter our first and foremost duty is to redeem our Motherland from her slavery and bondage. We can do so if we have that intense fire of love for our Motherland—India.

The following points may be remembered in this connection :—

1. Achievement of Independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
2. Administer justice tempered with mercy.
3. Always encourage the spirit of young men. Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.
4. Always uphold the honour of the Army.
5. Always be polite. It costs nothing, and yet you can be firm.
6. Be an optimist, courageous and self-reliant in life.
7. Be tolerant to the opinions of others.
8. Cultivate an outlook of Universal Brotherhood.
9. Discharge your duties faithfully.
10. Fight hard for your country.
11. Have confidence in yourself.
12. Keep secrets closely guarded.
13. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
14. Love and respect men and they will love and respect you.
15. Rectify a wrong whenever you can, it is never too late to mend.
16. Show the utmost toleration in matters religious.
17. Trust in God and do the right.

18. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.
19. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try again and again.
20. Don't betray confidence.
21. Don't hesitate to take the initiative in a good cause.
22. Don't talk loosely. The enemy may be listening and you may thus endanger the lives of thousands.
23. Never lose your character. A characterless man is dangerous and is a disgrace.
24. Never betray your Motherland.

NATIONAL SPIRIT

National spirit means the feeling by which a person is thrilled when he considers himself to belong to a particular nation. It rouses all that is best in him. It may be likened to the blossoming out of a bud into a fully developed flower. Just as a person should feel proud that he belongs to a particular family, he should be much more so to feel that he belongs to a particular nation.

National Spirit need not necessarily be always aggressive, but certainly it should never be subservient. It is true, that it is better to have a wider outlook and love of humanity as a whole. Nevertheless, in order to have orderly progress, one has got to organize and make co-ordinated efforts. For that reason alone organization has to be on a National basis. But that does not exclude love and tolerance for other nations and for his fellow human beings in general. On the other hand, if a person is truly imbued with the National Spirit, it should rouse within oneself the highest feelings for the humanity in general and for his own nation in particular. National Spirit gives tremendous strength to the people of a nation politically, economically, socially and militarily. It

encourages the desire to serve one's own nation in the best way one can. It may be in the field of education, it may be in the domain of economics, it may be in rendering help to the sick and needy etc. In other words true National Spirit engenders the spirit of Service. And much more so in times of danger from foreign invasion or political domination by other nations. National Spirit rouses tremendous feelings for one's own countrymen and helps in safe-guarding the country's interests. National Spirit spurs a man to do heroic deeds. National Spirit harnessed properly can yield marvellous results. It can help in overcoming insuperable difficulties, privations can be endured for a very long time, economic resources can be mobilised smoothly without much grumbling and confusion, and man power can be organised and made use of in various ways in the uplift of a nation.

As a matter of fact, National Spirit properly roused and husbanded can act as a magician's wand in the hands of suitable leaders. National Spirit will enable individuals, communities and nations to undergo immense hardships and offer the highest sacrifices. In all civilised countries this National Spirit is enthused into the children so that the foundation may be laid on sound basis. For, when these children grow up and become adult men and women, it is comparatively easier to rouse such National Spirit and organise them both in times of peace and war. National Spirit when properly imbibed prevents a man from becoming a traitor and selling his country to a foreigner. Thus, it serves a great national purpose. Many critical situations have been saved through rousing this National Spirit. Napoleon roused the spirit of the Frenchmen after his accession to power and was able to conquer a large part of Europe. Kitchener was able to raise millions of men to form the British army during the last World War, which in the beginning only amounted to about three hundred thousand men. It was National Spirit which enabled the Nipponese Nation to win the last Russo-Japanese War. It

was the National Spirit which enabled these Nipponese soldiers to act like human bombs at Shanghai and blow themselves up into bits and thus cause a breach in the embankment which was holding up the Japanese Army from advancing upon the enemy. It is the National Spirit which has enabled and strengthened Japan to challenge and defeat so far the combined might of Anglo-American Powers. We must, therefore, be able to appreciate the true significance of National Spirit at this juncture.

It is the rise of National Spirit in India which has enabled us, Indians to carry out a most difficult struggle for the achievement of Independence of our Mother Country. We must feel proud to be Indians. The greater this National Spirit is roused now, the easier it would be for us to achieve the final success. We must, therefore, infuse into the minds of our men the significance of National Spirit and try our utmost to rouse in them this noble Spirit, so that they may be more amenable to co-ordinated action, less to be influenced by factional interests and may be prepared to offer supreme sacrifice when the time comes.

The following points should be remembered in this connection :—

1. Achievement of Independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
2. Always encourage the spirit of young men. Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.
3. Always uphold the honour of the Indian National Army.
4. Always respect the honour of those who are under your protection.
5. Always stand up when seniors come in.
6. Be an optimist, courageous and self-reliant in life.
7. Cultivate the spirit of self-help.
8. Cultivate the spirit of chivalry. Remember that the spirit of Indian chivalry is famous in history.

9. Discharge your duties faithfully.
10. Fight hard for your country.
11. Have confidence in yourself.
12. Keep secrets closely guarded.
13. Love and respect men and they will love and respect you.
14. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
15. Resist temptation manfully. If you are unable to resist, get away from the temptation.
16. Show the utmost toleration in matters religious.
17. Take good care of the lives and welfare of those under your care. Remember you are responsible for them.
18. Trust in God and do the right.
19. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.
20. You should feel proud that you are Indians.
21. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try again and again.
22. Don't betray confidence.
23. Don't get drunk and make a fool of yourself. Alcohol is neither a food nor a necessity.
24. Don't hesitate to take the initiative in a good cause.
25. Don't dishonour a fallen enemy.
26. Never dishonour yourself.
27. Never lose your character. A characterless man is dangerous and is a disgrace.
28. Never betray your Motherland.

SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR CAUSE

1. It has been the effort of every civilised nation to achieve freedom for its own Motherland. Conquest demoralises the conquered nation. Unless it can set itself free

at the earliest opportunity or be completely absorbed by the conquering nation its destruction is inevitable. India is a subject nation at present and has suffered under the British rule tremendously.

2. Education suffered very badly in India. There has been not only no progress in education within the last fifty years but whatever Indians used to learn in their own mother-tongue has been almost lost. Whereas in the olden days people had education in small village schools in the dialect prevalent in the province. The percentage of literacy amongst the Indians was 9 to 10 per cent. in the year 1891, and to-day in 1941, when the last census was held, it is just about the same. It is evident what colossal ignorance now prevails in the country. While during less than half of that period Russia and Turkey who were equally backward as India in 1891 have made such tremendous strides in education that the population of those countries has become almost cent. per cent. literate. It was possible to achieve this result because they are free countries.

3. Economically India has suffered and has been bled white. 180 crores of rupees—an amount nearly equal to 82 per cent. of India's present total revenue—is drained away from India every year in the shape of pensions, dues paid in England, Commercial Preference, British Contracts, imports of merchandise and machinery from England, etc. Had the country been industrialised and made to stand on its own feet this vast sum of money would have remained within the country and made use of in reconstructing the nation. Her cottage industries have been ruined and to-day her artisans are starving or are becoming extinct. The most costly Army in the world in proportion to revenue is being maintained in India. And of this the British troops enjoy the lion's share. An English Tommy is paid four times the salary and allowances as compared to that paid to an Indian sepoy. All these are very great economic losses. To-day the average annual income of an Indian at a most

optimistic calculation as estimated by an Englishman is rupees 120 while that of his own countryman is rupees 1,100 and that of an American rupees 4,500 per year. We are suffering from almost abject poverty. At least 50 lakhs of people do not get even one square meal a day. And several crores of people can just manage to have one meal a day, and thus keep body and soul together but at a very low ebb indeed. That has kept them away a good deal from having any reserve power—physically and economically—with the result that when famine or pestilence comes, they are killed away in millions. Unless a determined effort is made from our side to wrest the power from the British, they are not going to lose their stranglehold over our country.

4. Culturally there was a definite downward movement for a long time. We were giving up all the good points of our culture and civilisation such as tolerance, simple living and high thinking, respect for the elders, pride in our traditions and ancient past and were imitating all the bad points from Western civilization for example, luxurious living, habit of drinking intoxicants, gambling, lack of tolerance for each other, complete indifference not only about our neighbours but even of our near relations such as parents, brothers and sisters. Luckily since the day of Partition of Bengal the tide has begun to turn and particularly since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the political arena of our country.

5. The physical determination of the Indians has also been very marked during the last century or so. Over a hundred million cases of Malaria occur annually and at least one million deaths occur from that disease per annum. The infant mortality is the highest in the world—nearly 240 per thousand. Average mortality per thousand is also the highest, being nearly 28 per mile. Similarly maternal mortality is very high. Indeed the duration of life of an Indian is the lowest in the whole of the civilised world. It does not exceed, at the most, 33 years whereas those of

Canadians, New Zealanders and Swedes exceed over 59 years. while those of the English and Germans slightly over 55 years. The physical deterioration has affected the physique of the recruits of the army during the last 30 years or so. But this is inevitable when there is so much of disease prevalent amongst the civil population.

6. From religious standpoint too it went on degenerating for a long time. Instead of good points about religion being brought into play in the daily life of the individual and for the uplift of the nation as a whole, all the worst points have been emphasised which have helped in the distintegration of the nation. Instead of harmony and peace, turmoil and strife between the communities and members of the different religious have been the order of the day.

7. From ethical standpoint also it has gone down very low. As a result of lack of education, poverty, disease and of the lack of communal harmony, ethical standard has markedly deteriorated. There is a great deal of distrust amongst the Indians between each other. They go in for litigation on the alightest pretext and do not hesitate to pull down each other. Backbiting and telling lies are not infrequent.

From the foregoing it is evident how our motherland has suffered during the British rule. Our struggle is for the removal of this suffering. This can be achieved when our Motherland is free. We would then be able to regenerate ourselves and reconstruct the nation. Our one object therefore should be to obtain complete independence of our Motherland, free from any foreign domination politically, economically or militarily. If we can succeed in our struggle we would be able to bring health and happiness in the homes of our millions of brothers and sisters. We shall see smile in their faces instead of tears which is the order nowadays. This can be done, if we whole-heartedly set to work in an intensive manner now and be prepared to sacrifice everything that we have including our own lives if it be necessary

to do so. This is the significance of our cause. The following points should be remembered in this connection :—

1. Achievement of independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
2. Always speak the truth; a liar is never respected.
3. Always encourage the spirit of young men. Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.
4. Always be polite. It costs nothing and yet you can be firm.
5. Be an optimist, courageous and self-reliant in life.
6. Be tolerant to the opinions of others.
7. Cultivate an outlook of universal brotherhood.
8. Discharge your duties faithfully.
9. Fight hard for your country.
10. Have confidence in yourself.
11. Keep secrets closely guarded.
12. Knowledge is power; acquire it.
13. Labour has its own dignity. Never hesitate to do manual work. Set an example to others.
14. Live a frugal life yourself but be generous to others deserving.
15. Live and let live.
16. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
17. Make unity, faith and sacrifice your life's motto.
18. Religion pertains to the individual. It is what you live.
19. Resist temptation manfully. If you are unable to resist, get away from the temptation.
20. Show the utmost toleration in matters religious.
21. Trust in God and do the right.
22. Trust men until proved to the contrary. Remember trust begets trust.
23. Utilise every opportunity to infuse the National spirit.

24. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.
 25. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try again and again.
 26. Don't betray confidence.
 27. Don't hesitate to take the initiative in a good cause.
 28. Don't lean on others.
 29. Don't talk loosely. The enemy may be listening and you may thus endanger the lives of thousands.
 30. Never dishonour yourself; death is preferable.
 31. Never betray your Motherland.
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COMMUNAL HARMONY

It is an old adage that unity is strength. It still holds good to-day and with a much greater emphasis specially under the present circumstances. The old story of a man with seven sons beautifully illustrates the adage quoted above. He took seven sticks, tied them up in one bundle and asked each of his sons individually to break the sticks tied up in the bundle. Every one of them tried but failed to do so. Then the father untied the bundle and gave one stick to each of his sons, and asked them to break the sticks. Each of those sticks was broken. He drew their attention and said, "If seven of you combine together, work, co-operate and live together, you will never be defeated in life, but if you divide amongst yourselves, then each of you may be broken up just as you yourselves have broken each of these sticks." We can draw a great lesson from this simple story. To-day, the need for struggle for the achievement of freedom for our Motherland is paramount. Individual, group and communal interests must be subordinated to the interests of the country, no matter how great a sacrifice that may be. It is of utmost importance that there should be

complete harmony between individuals and individuals, groups and groups, communities and communities, rich and poor, military and civil. Harmony can only arise if there are no fundamental differences amongst us. If we adopt a broad outlook of life and put before us the Freedom of our Motherland as the one object for the achievement of which we should devote all our energies and resources, there can never possibly be any fundamental differences at all. Disunion, particularly communal differences are not the special monopoly of India. There have been examples of such disunion in other countries also, for example amongst Mohammedans and Copts in Egypt, amongst Roman Catholics and Protestants in England and Ireland, amongst the Shias and Sunnis of Arabia, amongst Confucianists and Taoists in China, etc.

One prominent feature as a result of such disharmony has been the lack of progress due to the persistent strife and turmoil amongst the communities concerned. The one lesson that we can always draw from such disharmony is not only the complete lack of progress but the loss of freedom, political as well economic, and in many cases spiritual, because of the inevitable ambitions of the invader. This has been remarkably illustrated in the case of India.

Since the inception of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there was a steady advancement in the political unity of the country which was very well noticed in the days of the Partition of Bengal when there was a complete understanding between the Hindus and Muslims. It was the Muslims who greatly demanded the reunion of the province. But in 1908, when Lord Minto, the then Viceroy of India, sowed the seed of communalism in the shape of separate representations for Muslims, to the unfortunate luck of India, disharmony developed to a great extent. But in 1922, with the inception of Khilafat Movement, Mahatma Gandhi countered this most mischievous effort on the part of Britain with the result that gradually communal harmony re-develop-

ed exceedingly well. Although here and there communal conflict shows up its hideous head occasionally, harmony prevails amongst the vast masses of Hindus and Muslims. As a matter of fact, there has been comparatively little disunion amongst the village population which forms practically 90 per cent. of the population of India. Whatever disharmony there was, it was mainly confined to the urban population where self-seekers and those with vested interests have tried to exploit the ignorant masses.

To-day the different communities feel for each other and for the welfare of their Mother Country as a whole, much more than they have ever felt before. This is clearly evinced by such facts as (1) that at no time in the history of the Indian National Congress there were such large number of Muslims and Christians affiliated to the Indian National Congress. (2) So many highly cultured educated Muslims and Christians working on the same principle as the Congress, (3) So many Muslim divines taking such active interest in the activities of the Congress. This is a most hopeful sign. In having a common ideology and in our close co-operation, lies our salvation. Communal harmony in Egypt and in Japan should serve us a great example as to what has been achieved in other countries. It is a fact that in Japan, members of a family may belong to different religious denominations and yet live peacefully and happily in the same family. We have our own experience too both in the mediaeval period as well as in the present day. The reign of that Great Moghul Emperor Akbar in our country is a brilliant example. Similarly in the modern days whenever the different communities have co-operated with each other on a common ideology, there has been remarkable progress. It was the proud privilege and glory of India to proclaim to the world from the earliest times that the whole world is inter-related *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*. We must never forget the memorable couplet of that great poet of India, Dr. Mohd. Iqbal, who wrote that religion does

not teach us to be enemies ; we are Indians, our Mother country is India. United we stand, divided we fall. Let us then, Comrades, forget our individual, group and other differences and put forth our energies and resources in the common struggle that we are making for the achievement of freedom of our Motherland.

The following points may be remembered in this connection :—

1. Always speak the truth: a liar is never respected.
2. Always be polite. It costs nothing.
3. Achievement of Independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
4. All lawful commands must be obeyed.
5. Be honest in all your dealings and work, for it is the best policy.
6. Be an optimist, courageous and self-reliant in life.
7. Be tolerant to the opinions of others.
8. Cultivate the spirit of self-help.
9. Cultivate an outlook of universal brotherhood.
10. Cultivate the spirit of chivalry.
11. Fight hard for your country.
12. Have confidence in yourself.
13. Keep secrets closely guarded.
14. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
15. Love and respect men and they will love and respect you.
16. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
17. Rudeness is a sign of lack of self-control and low breeding. —
18. Religion pertains to the individual. It is what you live.
19. Trust in God and do the right.
20. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try again and again.
21. Don't betray confidence.

22. Don't hesitate to admit a mistake. It will show up your courage and character.
 23. Don't kill your conscience.
 24. Don't use profane language or commit a bad deed. Remember every profane word you speak or a bad deed you do, leaves a track in your brain which predisposes you to repeat them. Be careful.
 25. Never lose your character. A characterless man is dangerous and is a disgrace.
 26. Never betray your Motherland.
 27. Whenever you wish to throw mud on to others, remember, a little of it sticks on to your fingers.
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FIRST CAUSE FOR THE COUNTRY, THEN OTHER INTERESTS

Whenever an individual, a community or a nation wants to achieve anything, it has to work or struggle for it. For success in such work or struggle, the attention must be undivided and all energy and all resources must be directed to the same purpose. Great objects cannot be achieved easily. Usually there are obstacles on the way and many difficulties have to be overcome. The greater the difficulties and harder the object to attain, the greater must be the co-ordination of all resources and energy. In other words, there must be absolute unity of purpose.

No individual, sectarian, class or communal interests should be brought in, while the struggle is being continued and the object is unattained. The firmer we are in this resolve and subordinate all other interests to that of the objective that we wish to achieve, the greater the chance of our success. This is exactly what we are faced with in our cause, that is, the achievement of the Independence of our Motherland.

We must never allow individual, class or communal interests to come in the way of the progress of the Movement. If we do, we can never succeed and will have to face failure. Such individual and sectarian interests must be subordinated to that of the country's cause. There are many examples in the history of the world, where a nation was ruined or the country lost its freedom because of the individual or class interests being put higher than that of the country as a whole. Memorable example of such failure is that of China, where the different War Lords divided the country into different parts, and continued to fight with one another, and make treaties with foreigners which were wholly detrimental to the country of China, as a whole.

Similarly, there are excellent examples of the other side, where sectarian interests were subordinated to those of the country, such as that in Egypt and Japan. In Egypt the Muslims combined themselves with the Copts who were Christians. Both of them subordinated their sectarian interests to the cause of the country as a whole, with the result that Egypt of to-day is far better united than ever before. Similarly in Japan, the Samural, who were the fighting class and the Shogun, the ruling class of Japan, surrendered their privileges and rights to Emperor Maiji, for the advancement and progress of the people of Japan, with the result that Japan achieved remarkable progress within a very short time indeed.

These examples should serve us a salutary lesson in subordinating our individual and group interests to those of the Mother-Country. Our mind, energy and resources should be wholly directed towards the service of our cause; that should be our only interest now.

The following points should be remembered :—

1. Always encourage the spirit of young men.
Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.
2. Always be polite. It costs nothing and yet you can be firm.

3. Be tolerant to the opinions of others.
 4. Be loyal to your leaders.
 5. Cultivate an outlook of universal brotherhood.
 6. Cultivate the Spirit of chivalry. Remember that the spirit of Indian chivalry is famous in history.
 7. Give credit to your leader for any achievement in an action, no matter how much you may have done.
 8. Keep secret closely guarded.
 9. Keep your appointments.
 10. Labour has its own dignity. Never hesitate to do manual work. Set an example to others.
 11. Live and let live.
 12. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
 13. Love and respect men and they will love and respect you.
 14. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
 15. Show the utmost toleration in matters religious.
 16. Take good care of the lives and welfare of the men under your care. Remember you are responsible for them.
 17. Trust men until proved to the contrary. Remember trust begets trust.
 18. Don't betray confidence.
 19. Don't discuss your superiors. This is bad discipline. Remember, if you do, you too may be discussed by your subordinates.
 20. Don't express disagreement in a gathering or conference against your leader. If you have divergence of views settle it up with him first.
 21. Never betray your Motherland.
 22. Never backbite or carry tales. It demeans you and lowers your self-respect. Remember that every time you wish to throw mud on others, a little of it sticks to your fingers.
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UNITY

1. It is an old adage that unity is strength. It is as true now as it has ever been. That unity is strength is exceedingly well illustrated by the old story of three bulls and a lion.

2. There were three bulls who used to graze together. There was a lion who wanted to destroy them and eat them. In single combat, the lion could have killed one of the bulls quite easily but as the three bulls were always together, his repeated attempts to destroy them failed miserably. He could not succeed in his object for a long time because whenever he attempted to attack them, all the three bulls combined and counter-attacked him vigorously. He was thus frustrated time after time.

3. Finally the lion realised that it was impossible for him to achieve his object as long as the three bulls remained together and acted in unison. He therefore, adopted a policy to divide them and dealing with them singly. In order to achieve his object, he made peace with those bulls and told them that he had no more quarrels with them. As time went on, the bitter feelings of the bulls against the lion died down. Then he began to approach and talk to them singly and during such conversation, he spoke ill of one against the other and thus gradually created ill-feelings between them. They began to distrust each other thinking that one was more powerful than the other. In this way the feelings of jealousy, hatred and bitterness were engendered and enhanced in the bulls. They gradually fell apart from each other and lost mutual sympathy.

4. They began to graze separately in different fields ; in other words they became disunited. The lion then got its opportunity. It attacked one bull after the other, destroyed and killed them. When one bull was attacked, the others thought that the one who was attacked was mean and weak, but they themselves were high minded and powerful, and

thus they did not go to the help of the one who was attacked. The bulls became divided and there was lack of mutual help. And thus they fell victims to the lion who destroyed them all.

5. In our case too the lesson of this old story is even more forcibly applicable. If we think and act in unison, there is nothing to stop the achievement of our objective. We shall be able to overcome all obstacles. But if we are divided amongst ourselves and disunited, we shall fail in our purpose and will be ruined. United we stand, divided we fall. We must, therefore, think and act together on the same lines. It is only then that we shall achieve success in our mother country. There are innumerable examples in human history which well illustrate what unity could achieve as well as the disastrous results of disunity. It was disunity which led to the fall of the Sikhs and Mahratta Gujrat, the first battle of Panipat and the battle of Plassey were lost. All these battles changed the history of the country. It is the united action of the whole Nipponese Nation that enabled them to defeat a First Class European Power like Russia. It is the concerted and co-ordinated action of the whole Nation of Japan which has enabled her to achieve such signal victories against the combined Anglo-American Powers. It was disunion in Germany in 1918, because of which she lost the last Great War. It was unity which enabled the small American Army to defeat the British Power in America and win Independence for their country. It was disunity which brought China into the clutches of the Anglo-American Powers and has been ruining her. It is unity which has so far saved Russia from total annihilation in this war.

6. Unity is one of the cardinal points in the maintenance of freedom of a country. Unity is essential during the struggle for the achievement of Independence of a Nation. At this juncture complete unity is of paramount interest to us. All of us must devote all our energy and do all we can to maintain such complete unity. For it is unity which

9 am. Tetsu Higuchi
77, Baden, 3 chome
Shibuya-ku Tokyo
(Japan)

October 11, 1958

Dear Sir

I have received your letter of September 24th and understand that many friends of my father the friend "Kachibashi" Ban Swaraka Sumi to perpetuate his memory in a most befitting manner. I had heard already from Mr. S. Dill (Foreign Secretary, Govt. of India) and from Mr. S. K. Majumdar about this.

In Japan, we hold the same of these ones as most sacred and precious. These are kept in family graves and in temples, where we offer prayers for their souls so you can easily understand this is something about my beloved father, I am his only child living now. (My brother was killed at the front). I fear the sacred ones must be taken by me and delivered there, if we can afford the expenses

I shall surely like to be present at the opening ceremony of the memorial at the Museum

The time of my arrival has to be decided on the actual committee. I shall like to visit Waltham and Chesham during winter between middle of January and middle of February. Kindly advise me, - I will be at home when it will suit your committee.

Thanking all friends and you for your sincere attempt to honour my father's soul, and with regards to everybody

Yours truly

Tetsu Higuchi

Facsimile letter of Mrs. Tetsu Higuchi consenting to send his father's (Shri Basu's) holy ashes to India.



Mr. & Mrs. Higuchi, son-in-law and daughter of Rash Behari Basu, with the award—the Second Order of the Merit of the Rising Sun.

will lead us to succes in achieving the Independence of our Motherland.

1. Always encourage the spirit of young men. Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.
2. Always be polite. It costs nothing and yet you can be firm.
3. Be tolerant to the opinions of others.
4. Be loyal to your leaders and superiors.
5. Cultivate the spirit of chivalry. Remember that the spirit of Indian chivalry is famous in history.
6. Give credit to your leader for any achievement in an action, no matter how much you may have done.
7. Keep secrets closely guarded.
8. Keep your appointments.
9. Labour has its own dignity; Never hesitate to do manual work. Set an example to others.
10. Live and let live.
11. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
12. Love and respect men and they will love and respect you.
13. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
14. Show the utmost toleration in matters religious.
15. Take good care of the lives and welfare of the men under your care.
16. Trust men until proved to the contrary. Remember trust begets trust.
17. Don't betray confidence.
18. Don't discuss your superiors. This is bad discipline. Remember, if you do, you too may be discussed by your subordinates.
19. Don't express disagreement in a gathering of conference against your leader. If you have divergence of views, settle it up with him first.
20. Don't break up a queue and rush forward.
21. Never betray your Motherland.

22. Never backbite or carry tales. It demeans you and lowers your self-respect.
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FAITH

In our actions particularly in relation to our friends and well-wishers, we must have faith as the foundation. When we carry out a work, perform a duty or try our level best to achieve our object with complete faith, our effort is more likely to be crowned with success than if we act without faith or even if we act in a mechanical manner as an automaton.

Faith gives tremendous inward strength and driving power. A person may be weak or have small resources but with faith he can try hard and overcome many difficulties. He can prolong the struggle and fight hard for a far longer period than if he had no faith in the object for which he was struggling.

For the success of our movement we must implicitly believe in it. We must also have complete faith not only in the movement but in ourselves and in those who are willing to help us, e.g., the Nipponese. It is faith which helps mankind to undergo the future of her child that enables her to cheerfully suffer the troubles, inconveniences and pains in bearing a child and bringing it up to manhood. It is faith which sustains our courage when faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. It is faith which enables us to bear physical pain and suffering under the most trying circumstances. It is faith which gives us hope when we are face to face against death or have actually sustained the loss of our dearest ones.

It is therefore imperative, that we realise what the significance of faith is. We must have unbounded faith in our movement, i.e., the achievement of independence of our Motherland.

On many occasions a small group of men with indomitable faith in their cause, has achieved remarkable successes against tremendous odds. The history of the French Revolution, the history of the Russians, of the German, of the Italian and of the Turkish Revolutions, clearly illustrates this point. They had to suffer for a long time, had to overcome tremendous difficulties, and often were faced with defeat, but they never lost faith in their object. In all these cases, the number of the people who began the revolution in these countries, were only a handful, but they had tremendous faith in their cause, which enabled them to overcome many difficult situations and ultimately led to their success. It was faith which enabled the handful of Arabs under Tarriq to conquer Spain. It was faith which enabled a few Arabs to conquer Sindh and a few Pathans to subdue Bengal. It was faith which helped in the rise of the Maratha and Sikh powers in India. It was faith which helped in the dissemination of Indian culture, civilization and religion over a large part of the known world, in the time of Asoka. And it was faith in the time of Akbar, which helped in the evolution of a common Indian culture and nation. The following points may be remembered in this connection :—

1. Achievement of Independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
2. Administer justice tempered with mercy.
3. Always speak the truth ; a liar is never respected.
4. Be an optimist, courageous and self-reliant in life.
5. Cultivate an outlook of universal brotherhood.
6. Have confidence in yourself.
7. Keep secrets closely guarded.
8. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
9. Love and respect men and they will love and respect you.
10. Make unity, faith and sacrifice your life's motto.
11. Trust in God and do the right.

12. Show the utmost toleration in matters religious.
13. Trust men until proved to the contrary. Remember trust begets trust.
14. Utilise every opportunity to infuse the National Spirit.
15. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.
16. You should feel proud that you are an Indian.
17. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try again and again.
18. Don't betray confidence.
19. Don't hesitate to take the initiative in a good cause.
20. Don't hesitate to admit a misake. It will show up your courage and character.
21. Never betray your Motherland.

SACRIFICE

Sacrifice means the offering of something which is dear to us for achieving the object which is equally or more dear to us. From time immemorial, such sacrifices have been offered by individuals, society or nation. In some places, they have been symbolical, while in others practical and actual. Hardly ever an important object has been achieved without some kind of sacrifice. It may be of money, it may be of time, it may be of energy or it may be of property, but the highest and noblest sacrifice is that of life for a noble cause. When the occasion demands the sacrifice must be forthcoming at once, otherwise we lose our object.

The object of our movement is the achievement of freedom of our Motherland. Such freedom is our birthright and we can have at present no other nobler cause for which we can offer sacrifice. A person might offer his life as a sacrifice blindly and in an unquestioning manner, because

of faith and loyalty in his leader. He may carry out the sacrifice in a mechanical manner. Even that would be noble indeed, but it is still nobler if the individual concerned really appreciates the significance of sacrifice. When a person realises fully within himself, the real significance of the objective and is prepared to offer the highest sacrifice, it becomes a matter of love and devotion in the offering of that sacrifice. Physically, death in such a case is sweet. Such a death is glorious. It heartens the weak and strengthens the doubtful. The mind becomes determined about the purpose and hardens as steel. It does not bring bitterness in the minds of those who are nearer and dearer to the persons who offer themselves as sacrifice. In reality the person becomes immortal. He never dies in the history of the nation.

We must therefore, instil into every individual the real meaning of the freedom of our Motherland and the real significance of the sacrifice now being demanded in the achievement of the freedom for our Motherland.

There are innumerable examples in the history of mankind of such noble sacrifices, to obtain or preserve freedom of one's own country. The fight of the 300 Spartans under the leadership of Leonidas in the defence of the Pass of Thermopylee in Greece against thousands of Persian hordes of Xerxes is one of the most remarkable examples of sacrifice which has ever been known in the history of world. Every one of the 300 men defended that Pass, and everyone of them was cut to pieces. Not one survived that battle. But the delay which occurred as defence of this Pass, enabled the Greeks to evacuate Athens in time before the Persians could enter that city and this kept the Greek Government intact.

The battle of Haldighat in Rajputana where the Rajputs defended their own land against the invading Mughals is a similar memorable example. The burning of Moscow by the Russians when Napoleon attacked Russia, compelled him to retreat and thus saved Russia ; the Charge of Light

Brigade of the British Cavalry at Balaclava against a very large number of Russian guns and troops in the Crimean War, is another example of the spirit of sacrifice. Similarly, the attack at 203 metre hill in the siege of Port Arthur by the Japanese is an extraordinary example of sacrifice for the sake of the country. There are many examples where empires have been lost, countries have lost their freedom, nations have been wiped out of existence, because the sacrifice that was required to meet the situation was not forthcoming at the critical time.

The following points may in this connection be remembered :—

1. Achievement of Independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
2. Always speak the truth ; a liar is never respected.
3. Always encourage the spirit of young men. Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.
4. Always uphold the honour of the Indian National Army.
5. All lawful commands must be obeyed.
6. Be an optimist, courageous and self-reliant in life.
7. Be loyal to your superiors.
8. Cultivate the spirit of self-help.
9. Discharge your duties faithfully.
10. Fight hard for your country.
11. Keep secrets closely guarded.
12. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
13. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
14. Trust in God and do the right.
15. Trust men until proved to the contrary. Remember trust begets trust.
16. Utilise every opportunity to infuse the National Spirit.
17. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.

18. You should feel proud that you are an Indian.
19. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try and try again.
20. Don't betray confidence.
21. Don't hesitate to take the initiative in a good cause.
22. Don't relax until you have achieved your objective and have consolidated it.
23. Never betray your Motherland.

INDO-NIPPONESE FRIENDSHIP

1. We, who belong to this Movement can have only one object at present and that is the Freedom of our Motherland. Nippon has promised to give her whole-hearted support in this struggle. It is up to us then, to make every effort to cultivate her friendship which would smoothen and facilitate our common action. As a matter of fact, the foundation of this friendship has been laid already in blood and death. Already the lives of four Indian patriots, namely, Captain Mohd. Akram Khan, Sri Neelkanth Ayer, Sardar Pritam Singh and Swami Satyananda Puri were sacrificed at the same time, at the same place, and in the same manner as that of Mr. Otaguro, who was the Nipponese friend accompanying them, as they were all going on their way in an aeroplane from Syonan to Tokyo for the Conference there. The plane unfortunately crashed. This cementing of friendship is providential and will be a landmark in our history. We should, therefore, beat it in our mind constantly.

2. Japan has promised to supply money, material and lives for the achievement of Independence of India without any territorial or economic ambitions in our Motherland. She wants to make Asia free for Asian. Until now, she has achieved this objective step by step and has kept her promise, wherever she has gone, and we have absolutely no reason to

distrust her. On the other hand, we should feel grateful for the magnanimous help which she is giving and has promised. In our struggle, the Anglo-American powers are the common enemy of Nippon and India.

3. We should try to improve ourselves by learning whatever good points we can find in the Nipponese. We must be very polite and go out of our way to cultivate their friendship. At the same time we must remember that we must not lose our self-respect in doing so. The Nipponese never appreciate a person who demeans himself, because they never do so themselves. Fear or hatred can never engender friendly feelings. Friendship grows best when it is based on mutual understanding, respect and love. The best compliment you can pay to a friend is when you adopt his ways and methods of living in an intelligent manner, suitable to the circumstances you are put in and not in blindly copying it. Friendship must be based on fairness and equality.

4. When you meet a friend you offer the necessary salutations for wishing him well. It is a matter of politeness to offer first. When we meet a Japanese we should give the salute. We should also do the same on occasions such as :—

(1) On reciprocal basis when two persons of the same status meet, each should salute the other simultaneously. But it would be a matter of courtesy and politeness if we Indians be quick enough to give the salute first.

(2) Our attitude towards them in this respect should at all times be cordial and friendly.

(3) While still maintaining our self-respect we should not stand on our dignity and be stand-offish.

5. Friends are human beings. They have both good and bad points. Don't let us put our friends on a pedestal. They are human and just as liable to make mistakes as we are. If we can forgive ourselves, we must also forgive

them. There must therefore be the spirit of give and take and that of forgiveness and forbearing.

6. In order that friendship may develop and be lasting between friends, there must be perfect mutual understanding between them. One must try to understand the other as best as possible and always make it a special point to emphasise the friend's good points and their mutual interests. In order that our friendship with the Nippon-zin may be harmonious and on a lasting basis, we must first understand and appreciate their good points. The following characteristics, among others, of the Nippon-zin are well-worth remembering, studying and taking lessons from :—

(i) Simple Living and Frugal Habits :—There is a very great similarity between the lives and ideals of an Indian and that of a Nippon-zin. Our ideal of life "Simple Living and High Thinking" can be clearly seen in their lives also. It is much easier for an Indian to pull on while living in Japan than in any other country—barring the slight initial disadvantage about the language. Still if one wants and tries, one can pick up the language within a short period. Nippon-zin live a very simple life and yet it is not crude. It contains all the refinements of culture and polish of education. Their habits are frugal. They do not aim at living luxuriously and yet their manners, behaviour and in short their whole life are good in comparison with any of those who presume that they belong to the most civilised nations of the world.

(ii) Patriotism and Intense Love of their own country :—Extreme patriotism is their national characteristic. They would do anything and sacrifice everything for the sake of their own country. Examples of their heroic deeds are well-known both amongst the Nippon Army, and the civil population. This special feature also tallies with our own tradition, which gives the Motherland a higher position than heaven.

(iii) Great respect for the Ancestors of the Family, Elders of the Nation and Heroes of the Country :—This again, is another of their national characteristics. And yet it is in conformity with our own Civilization. Indians too, greatly respect all these persons. Unfortunately on account of our present enslaved condition, we have not been able to keep up the tradition of hero worship, while Japan being an independent country has been fortunate enough to continue to do this from time immemorial.

(iv) Bravery :—Both in the Russo-Japanese War as well as in the present war, the Japanese have shown innumerable examples of extreme bravery. They have deliberately courted death for ensuring the annihilation of the enemy or to facilitate the attack of the Army, Navy and Air power. The example of power-driving of their airmen into the objectives has become famous now. The three men who became human bombs in Shanghai has also become a great landmark in Japanese Military campaign in China.

(v) Adaptability :—The Japanese nation possesses an excellent quality of imbibing everything that is good in others, and making it their own. They do things systematically and methodically. The rationalisation of their industry has helped in the immense growth of trade and commerce within a very short time. Their adoption of mechanisation according to western standards—even better in many respects—has greatly helped them in their progress. Their looms are the best in the world. Their aeroplanes and steamships are second to none. They have developed water-power in a large part of the rural portion of Japan, which has helped tremendously in the development of cottage industry, and Trade and Commerce, and has prevented a great deal the movement of the peasant population from the rural area to the cities, the result being that their villages are prosperous and healthy. If we study their history of development during the last one hundred years, we see that at the restoration of their Emperor Meiji, they

set to work with determination and established different Commissions to go round the world and to find out what are the best systems for adopting for their own country—Military, Navy, Education, Administration and even Religion. The Commissions made their investigation and submitted their recommendations; and the people accepted them and put them into practice. That shows their adaptability and tremendous spirit for national progress. They do not allow any thing to stand in the way of progress, no matter whether it is tradition, manners, customs, not even formal religion.

(vi) The Code of 'Bushido':—The Code of Bushido means the way of the warrior. Every Nippon-zin is trained to be imbued with the spirit of 'Bushido' which consists of the following six characteristics :—

- (1) Self-sacrifice.
- (2) Love of the country.
- (3) Honour.
- (4) Justice.
- (5) Atonement.
- (6) Loyalty.

Every Nippon-zin is a potential warrior and as such he must follow this code to the best of his capacity. Their spirit of Bushido closely resembles that of Indian Chivalry.

(vii) Intense Love for Children :—The Japanese have this very loveable characteristic. Whenever they see children they show their love to them and thus win the hearts of the people

7. From the foregoing it is evident that the important characteristics of the Nippon-zin greatly resemble those of our own ideals and there should not be any difficulty in understanding them. Ignorance of language is a difficulty which one should appreciate, but with patience and tact this can be overcome. We have no exercise patience and tact, even with those friends whose language we understand perfectly well. We are passing through strenuous times and

our problems are many. But as long as we keep Freedom of our Mother-country as our sole object, we shall find that the Nipponese are most helpful. We should give all due consideration and make sufficient allowance for any drawbacks that may unfortunately develop now and then because of the very difficult situation we are in. But the Nippon Nation has pledged itself to give every help possibly they can in our struggle for the achievement of independence of our country. That is a tremendous advantage and gain for us and we should be grateful for such an offer. It is needless to state that the development and growth of mutual friendship will greatly facilitate co-operation in the common struggle—our struggle to annihilate the Anglo-American Powers who are our common enemies. It is, indeed, worth our while to do all we can to develop mutual friendship as best as possible.

The following points may be remembered in this connection :—

1. Achievement of Independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
2. Always speak the truth; a liar is never respected.
3. Always encourage the spirit of young men. Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.
4. Always uphold the honour of the Indian National Army.
5. Always be polite. It costs nothing and yet you can be firm.
6. Be an optimist, courageous and self-reliant in life.
7. Be tolerant to the opinions of others.
8. Be honest in all your dealings and work, for it is the best policy.
9. Cultivate the spirit of self-help.
10. Cultivate an outlook of universal brotherhood.
11. Cultivate the spirit of chivalry. Remember that the spirit of Indian chivalry is famous in history.

12. Discharge your duties faithfully.
13. Fight hard for your country.
14. Have confidence in yourself.
15. Keep secrets closely guarded.
16. Knowledge is power, acquire it.
17. Live and let live.
18. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
19. Maintain strict self-discipline. This is the foundation of success.
20. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.
21. Resist temptation manfully. If you are unable to resist, get away from the temptation.
22. Rudeness is a sign of lack of self-control and low breeding.
23. Rectify a wrong whenever you can, it is never too late to mend.
24. Show the utmost toleration in matters religions.
25. Trust in God and do the right.
26. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.
27. You should feel proud that you are an Indian.
28. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try again and again.
29. Don't betray confidence.
30. Don't discuss your superiors. This is bad discipline. Remember if you do, you too may be discussed by your subordinates.
31. Don't get drunk and make a fool of yourself. Alcohol is neither a food nor a necessity.
32. Don't hesitate to take the initiative in a good cause.
33. Don't kill your conscience.
34. Don't talk loosely. The enemy may be listening and you may thus endanger the lives of thousands.
35. Don't brag or boast about your capabilities.
36. Don't hesitate to admit a mistake. It will show up your courage and character.

37. Don't express disagreement in a gathering or conference against your leader. If you have divergence of views, settle it with him first.
 38. Never dishonour yourself; death is preferable.
 39. Never lose your character. A characterless man is dangerous and a disgrace.
 40. Never betray your Motherland.
 41. Never backbite or carry tales. It demeans you and lowers your self-respect.
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UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

The basis of dealings with our fellow beings should be love and respect. Daily we come in contact with many who are our equals, with many who are superiors and many who are at a lower level either in status, education or wealth. No matter, with whom we deal, in whatever capacity and for whatever purpose, we must have always between us the bond of love of human friendship and respect for each other. Hatred and disrespect show shallowness of knowledge of humanity, lack of self-control and failure to see the other man's point of view. It has never helped in solving the problems arising out of human relationship. Our first criterion in dealing with humanity therefore, should be love and respect—that is the standard of "Universal Brotherhood." The greatest leaders of the world, prophets of different religions, the greatest learned men of the world have always had love and respect for all. In other words, "Universal Brotherhood" was the basis of their conduct in human dealings. They have led thousands and millions of human being without the application of force. Millions and millions of their disciples and followers were attracted to them because of their outlook and conduct in the world, and hundreds of millions still admire, love and respect them.

Mutual relationship based on love and respect cements the bond of human fellow feeling. Application of force may be necessary in a limited sense and in a limited space and time, but it has never succeeded in the final analysis. Force has always failed to cement friendship; on the other hand love and respect have succeeded invariably. Love leads to courage and faith, and respect induces dignity and discipline.

We should try our utmost to infuse this ideal into our men and thus widen their outlook. Such love and respect for all such universal brotherhood increase a man's power of tolerance and lead to a far better and more human outlook in life. It enables him to make those who come in contact with him also happy. Many of us have come across such noble men and have experienced the joy of happiness that emanates from them. They infuse cheer into our lives and make life worth living. They have always left their footprints on the sands of time. Let us follow their noble example. Let us infuse such a spirit and outlook into us all and try to become better men ourselves. It will be invaluable for our movement.

COMRADES-IN-ARMS

Civilians and Military Comrades! We are all soldiers fighting for the Freedom of our Mother Country. Our weapons may be different according to the group we belong to, but our object is one and the same, that is Complete Independence of India, our Mother Country. We are all Comrades-in-arms. But some of us will have greater opportunities to bear greater hardships, risks and sacrifice than others. The greater the sacrifice made for the Motherland, the nobler will be the achievement. Such good fortune will be at least that of the Indian National Army which is the first of its kind in the modern history of India. Those who be-

long to it are extremely fortunate to be included in this Army, for, the purpose for which the Army has been formed is most glorious and noble, *i.e.*, for the purpose of the achievement of Freedom of our Motherland. It will devolve on their shoulders to prove to the world that we Indians, do possess a real desire, zeal and love for the independence of our own Motherland, and we are prepared to offer any sacrifice that may be asked from us for this purpose, no matter how heavy. Our task is magnificent and high. We are exceedingly fortunate to be entrusted with such a task, but at the same time we must clearly realise that we, everyone of us, have to bear a very great responsibility. And we cannot possibly slacken our efforts in any way until that responsibility has been fully discharged, *i.e.*, we have obtained the complete independence for our Motherland India.

Comrades! People before us, in the history of mankind have accepted such responsibilities gladly and have discharged their responsibilities to their entire credit. Comrades! People before us have accepted such trust and have required such trust most faithfully. Comrades! People before us have shown utmost zeal and sacrifice in the achievement of freedom of their country. The examples of the Swiss, the Greeks, the Turks and the Russians are famous. Therefore, there cannot be any reason whatsoever that we should not be able to discharge our responsibilities meritoriously, to requit the trust that has been put upon us most faithfully and offer the highest sacrifice necessary.

We must remember that the time for the achievement of freedom of our country is now or never. If we fail at this juncture, our destiny is doomed for the next hundred years, and God alone knows what may happen. We have the examples of other nations like the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Romans and the Egyptians who have completely disappeared from the surface of the world, because at the time of crisis they had failed to overcome the various difficulties that confronted them. They fell a victim to the conquerors and

in course of time they were completely wiped out of existence. Fortunately we have been lucky so far, in the sense that we have been able to produce in times of crisis men who have led the people properly and thus we have been able to overcome some awful calamities and insuperable difficulties.

Comrades ! we should take a vow that we will never give away an inch of ground to the enemy as long as a single man remains alive. Comrades ! we should take a vow that we will never get ourselves captured by the enemy. In this we should emulate the Nipponese soldier who kills himself rather than being taken prisoner. It was this indomitable spirit because of which only eight Japanese soldiers could be captured in the last Malayan Campaign, and even of these five were wounded. Comrades ! we must never lose a single rifle, machine or heavy gun, or armoured car. We should rather lose our lives than our weapons. It is a matter of very great shame for a warrior to lose his weapon to the enemy. Let us be cut to pieces before we lose a single weapon. Comrades ! we should remember that two machine guns operated by German soldiers can stop a whole battalion from advancing. Why can we not do the same also ? I am sure we can if we have got that spirit of the indomitable fighter. Comrades ! if we have to stop an enemy bullet let our chest stop it, but never our back. Comrades ! let us train ourselves intensively so that we become masters of our weapons, so that we become masters of the tactics we are going to employ against the enemy and so that we are able to completely defeat and rout him. Comrades ! let our every rifle and machine gun bullet find its mark. Comrades ! let every shell from our guns find its objective and destroy it completely.

Our power of adaptability is still alive and so is the genius that has enabled us to surmount the difficult situation at different times. Nevertheless, man can only achieve by his own efforts and struggles. Comrades ! this is a most opportune moment for us. We have got three of the

most powerful nations of the world to help us, and particularly Nippon, who has been able to prove her might against the combined Anglo-American and Dutch power in Asia, and has kept her promises everywhere so far. Still it is up to us to do all we can to fight the battle of Freedom and achieve the complete Independence of our Motherland for which the Indian National Army is formed. We can do so if we have complete Unity amongst ourselves and if we show the utmost Discipline in our daily conduct and in the battlefield. We can do so if we have complete Faith in the object for which we have formed our Army. We can do so if we have an unbounded Love for our Motherland. We can do so if we arouse and maintain the National Spirit at a high level amongst us. We can do so if we grasp and hold the hand of friendship offered by Nippon. We can do so if we have a broad outlook of Universal Brotherhood. And we can do so if we realise the significance of Our Cause and put Our Cause first before every other interest, and are prepared to offer the Highest Sacrifice that may be necessary. The situation may seem difficult but we must remember that others before us in the history of mankind, similarly placed, have been able to surmount all difficulties and have achieved their object. It is up to us to take heart, strive our utmost, and keep faith in God that He will guide our footsteps on the right path and lead us to final and complete success.

COMRADES! TO THE FIELD OF BATTLE FOR
THE FREEDOM OF OUR MOTHERLAND!
COMRADES! ON TO DELHI! *AZAD HINDUSTAN*.

The following points in this connection may be remembered :—

1. Achievement of Independence of your Motherland should be your sole objective. Devote your heart and soul to it.
2. Always speak the truth; a liar is never respected.
3. Always encourage the spirit of young men.

Remember the spirit is mightier than the sword.

4. Always uphold the honour of the Army.
5. A soldier must exercise initiative and determination in his work.
6. Always respect the honour of those who are under your protection.
7. Always stand up when a superior comes in.
8. Always be polite. It costs nothing.
9. All lawful commands must be obeyed.
10. Be optimistic, courageous and self-reliant in life.
11. Be tolerant to the opinions of others.
12. Be honest in all your dealings and work, for it is the best policy.
13. Be loyal to your superiors.
14. Be punctual. Never be late on your work or parade.
15. Cultivate the spirit of self-help.
16. Cultivate an outlook of Universal Brotherhood.
17. Cultivate the spirit of chivalry. Remember that the Indian chivalry is famous in history.
18. Discharge your duties faithfully.
19. Exercise daily.
20. Fight hard for your country.
21. First obey and then you will learn how to command.
22. Have confidence in yourself.
23. Keep secrets closely guarded.
24. Knowledge is power, acquire it.
25. Labour has its own dignity, Never hesitate to do manual work. Set an example to others.
26. Loyalty and co-operation lead to success.
27. Love and respect your men and they will love and respect you.
28. Maintain strict discipline. This is the foundation of success.
29. Make Unity, Faith and Sacrifice your life's motto.

30. Obey orders implicitly and carry them out intelligently.
31. Resist temptation manfully.
32. Show the utmost toleration in matters religious.
33. Take good care of the lives and welfare of the men under your care. Remember you are responsible for them.
34. Trust in God and do the right.
35. Trust men until proved to the contrary. Remember trust begets trust.
36. Utilise every opportunity to infuse the National Spirit.
37. Work hard and with devotion. Hard work never kills a man.
38. You should feel proud that you are an Indian.
39. Don't be defeated by failure in a good cause. Try again and again.
40. Don't betray confidence.
41. Don't relax until you have achieved your objective and have consolidated it.
42. Don't talk loosely. The enemy may be listening and you may thus endanger the lives of thousands.
43. Never dishonour yourself; death is preferable.
44. Never betray your Motherland.
45. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day. Remember a stitch in time saves nine.
46. Never vacillate. Vacillation is the death-knell of success.

HOUSEHOLD DUTIES

The management of a home is an art and can only be acquired by learning and practice. In such management a woman always excels. With adequate knowledge and by

taking proper care she can really beautify a home. A well managed home is the expression of the Woman's character. The greater the cultural background of a housewife, the better is likely to be the management of the family. The household duties may be divided as follows :—

- (a) Those relating to the cleanliness of the home.
- (b) Those pertaining to the daily feeding arrangements.
- (c) Those pertaining to the household linen, bedding, clothing, etc.
- (d) Those relating to the education of the Children.
- (e) Those relating to Religious Training.
- (f) Those relating to the Training of the Girls in household duties.
- (g) Those relating to manual labour in the home—economic effects and the dignity of labour.
- (h) Those relating to the family economics—making the best use of the resources of the family.
- (i) Those relating to Social Duties.
- (a) Those pertaining to the cleanliness of the home.

It is imperative that the place where we live must be clean. This does not mean expensive homes built of costly material. Homes of even mud or wood-flooring can and should be clean. Rooms should be daily well ventilated and floors cleaned and washed. The bedrooms and other living rooms should be wiped with a wet rag, dipping the rag in fresh water often as possible. Kitchens, Drains, and Latrines should be cleaned and washed daily. We must appreciate the dignity of manual labour, no matter how humble it may be. Staircases, courtyards should be swept daily. All this cleaning should be done by the members of the household themselves—including that of the unclean. There should be no false sense of vanity and considering the doing of this work as "Infra dig." In no other country outside India there is any such class as sweepers. People clean their own latrines. There is no reason why we should not do so. Compounds should be kept clean from all rank vegetation.

Most of the work within the house should be done by the women themselves. It is up to the Mistress of the House to set the example. The men ought to clean the compound and the courtyard.

(b) Those pertaining to the feeding arrangement. Food is the most important item from material point of view. We are what we eat. We have to make every arrangement for its proper and clean preparation, cooking and distribution. The mistress of the household must give her whole-hearted attention to this item. It is of special importance with regard to children as they are growing and their demands are naturally more insistent and essential. The Mother should see that the children wash their mouths and hands before and after meals. She should personally look after daily feeding.

A knowledge of elementary hygiene will greatly help with regard to the problem of food. The mistress should see that the articles that are purchased are wholesome, she must see that they are properly prepared and cooked and the utensils in which they are served should be scrupulously clean, so also the place where food is taken. It is extremely desirable that no matter how poor a household may be, a separate place should be kept for eating. If food is taken on the ground and the food is cooked in the ordinary Indian kitchen,—one should not walk into these places with shoes on; these should be left outside. All food cooked should be kept covered and thus protected from dust, insects and vermin. The greater the interest the wife takes in this matter, the better the quality and taste of the food would be, which would greatly enhance the joy and welfare of the members of the family.

(c) Those pertaining to the household linen, bedding, clothing, etc. Clothing and bedding are essential necessities for the family. It would add greatly to the financial condition of the family if the clothing material particularly of small children is purchased by the wife and prepared at

home. In case of grown up persons she should see that no torn or dirty clothes or bedding is in use. She should have the torn articles repaired at home. More attention should be paid to the utility of an article than mere gaudiness or show. Clothing and bedding should be kept clean and the dirty ones should be changed and washed. Underwears should be washed as often as possible preferably in the home. Material for wearing should be seasonable and durable. Clothing and bedding should be regularly put in the sun or in its absence, thoroughly aired.

(d) Those relating to the Education and Training of the Children. Wherever schools are available the mother should encourage children to go to school regularly and in time. She should watch the child with regard to its progress in its education even if it be in a school. If there be no school, young children up to the age of 10 should be taught by the mother. Unfortunately in a large number of cases our mothers themselves are ignorant and illiterate. This is a very severe handicap.

Children must be trained to co-operate with and love each other. They must be trained to do their own work right from the beginning. The mother should pay particular attention to the training of the children in household duties especially to the girls, but that should never mean that the boys should be let off. She should train the children not to spit or urinate or to throw rubbish indiscriminately. One should spit only in the drains or in spittoons. One should urinate only in the latrines and throw rubbish at the appointed place, rubbish bin or pit. Doing these things indiscriminately means lack of neatness and risk of spreading of germs and therefore the danger of people catching disease. In all these matters she should tell them the reasons. Then they will appreciate them very much and will obey. She should instil into them the sense of discipline, punctuality, obedience to the orders of the superiors, and respect to the elders. She must be firm with the children in their delin-

quencies and yet love them. In short, she must help them to cultivate healthy habits and form a good character. One must realise that the education imparted by the mothers together with the moulding of the character of the child—for which she is greatly responsible—lays the foundation of the character for the whole life of the child.

(e) Those pertaining to Religious Training. It is a well known fact that all over the world, it is the women who carry up the family tradition, social manners and customs from generation to generation. Women are their repositories. They are more religious than men. They have a more sustained faith in religious matters and in God than men. It would therefore be easier for the mistress of the household to take her rightful position and take the initiative in religious matters for the good of the family. She should train the children to pray regularly twice a day, morning and evening, and as far as possible once during the day she should sit down together with as many members of the family as possible and daily say a common prayer even if it be for a few minutes. Once a week she should gather together the members of the family preferably on a holiday and read or discuss religious, ethical and national matters which would greatly help in widening the knowledge of the children and stabilising their character. There should be a small separate place in the household for saying prayers and performing religious ceremonies. This would serve as a sort of family chapel.

(f) Training of the Girls in Household Duties. The girls of to-day would be the mothers of tomorrow. If they get a good training during their childhood and adolescence they will grow into healthy and stable womanhood. They would be familiar with the household duties which they will be expected to carry out when they get married and assume family responsibilities.

No amount of training given elsewhere can ever be compared to the practical field laboratory of the actual family household.

(g) *Dignity of Manual Labour.* One should feel proud to do one's own work as much as possible. There should absolutely be no sense of shame in carrying out such duties. It is a false sense of vanity and mistaken pride which prevents most of us from doing our own legitimate work. We must realise the dignity of manual labour. The mother is in the best position to set an example especially to the children so that they do as much of their own work as is possible. Childhood is the best period to get such training. The children should be taught not only to do daily their own beds and clean their own shoes, etc., but also help each other. The men should follow the example of the mistress of household. The men should wash their own clothing, get fuel for the household and carry any material from the market for the family. We should have as few servants as possible. Having less servants means financial saving to the family as well as confidence in one's own self.

(h) Those pertaining to family economics—Making the best use of the resources of the family. With the vast number of the population having a limited income it is of utmost importance that all the income of the family should be husbanded properly and made the best use of. As a rule, men earn and women spend. Unless this spending is done intelligently and economically it would be extremely difficult to make both ends meet. Therefore it is essential that woman should know the best way money could be spent for the benefit of the family. For example in purchasing food she should know what is available during the season and she must buy the most nourishing and the most economical articles of food. Similarly with regard to clothing she should purchase well ahead so that she may not have to buy them during the rush season at a high price. In this way she could save money. Her intelligent and careful management of the household will keep sickness in the family to the lowest level. She should take the utmost care in the prevention of disease. Instead of allowing a person to get sick

and then have him treated for the disease, she should take every possible precautionary measure so that no member of the family gets sick. At least she should try to keep it down as much as possible. This also would mean financial saving, for sickness means not only less income but it also means the using up of any reserves that might have been accumulated. Further absence of sickness means joy and happiness while sickness leads to misery and trouble.

She must also see and counsel her husband to lay by something in order to make provision for emergency, days of difficulty and old age. It is the wife's constant counsel that the husband is likely to listen to and carry out.

(i) *Social Duties.* Every family no matter how small, no matter how poor, has a certain obligation to fulfil towards the society in which he lives. The fulfilment of social engagements should primarily fall on women and they should see to it that such duties are carried out smoothly and cheerfully and without any strain on the family resources. Indians have been proverbially hospitable; but unfortunately on account of the adoption of western standards and an increase in the luxuries and comforts of individuals and of families, now-a-days it is noticed that hospitality has gone down a very great deal. There may be a certain amount of entertainment but behind this there is usually a motive either for the satisfaction of the ego or social climbing. This is most unfortunate, and should be got rid of as soon as possible. We should live day to day a more simple life so that we may be able to be hospitable and fulfil our duties towards the society in the best way possible.

COMMON DRESS AND FOOD

For the people of a country if they are to be unified, the principal factors affecting their daily life should be common.

The most common factors are Language, Dress, Food, Economic condition and Geographic position. These factors lay the foundation of the sense of unity and the more we meet with them everyday in our life, the more we become conscious of the unity among ourselves. After Language and Economic condition, Dress and Food are the most important factors in our life. If we dress alike and feed alike there is bound to be a growth of sense of unity amongst ourselves. As a matter of fact they along with language are even more important than others for they lay the foundation of the cultural affinity. The most practical example we see in our practical life is that of the Army. The soldiers dress themselves in the same way, although they may belong to different communities and races. They eat the same food. It gives a tremendous fillip in considering themselves as belonging to one organisation. This develops unity of thought and action. It is, therefore, extremely important that we should evolve a common dress and a common food. There may be slight variations or peculiarities in some localities but the vast masses of the people should have the same type of dress and food. The more this is equalised amongst the masses, the better it would be in all respects. Let us consider Dress first :—

Usually we require two types of dress. One for everyday work and the other for festive or special occasions. The latter may be left out from our immediate consideration and we may discuss the work-a-day dress first :—

In India the under-garments amongst men in the masses is usually some form of "Dhoti" in its different variations. In the vast rural areas of Madras and Punjab they wear a comparatively short piece of cloth tied around their waste once. Whereas in U.P., Bihar, Bengal, Bombay and C.P. "Dhoti" is tied in the waste but part of it is gathered in front and part of it is tucked up at the back. Dhoti when worn loosely may be comfortable especially at sleeping time ; but as such it is useless for out-door work and specially it is

a hopeless garment if one has to defend oneself against aggression. The "Dhoti" unless it is worn tightly (as mentioned above) as by the working classes in Bihar, Bombay, C.P., U.P., etc., it is very unsuitable as a Working Dress, because it will constantly be coming in the way and it will not allow freedom of movement. Nor does it give any sense of security when it is worn as in case of Madras, Punjab, or Bengal. Either we should wear the "Dhoti" for purposes of work as it is worn by the working classes in C.P., U.P., Bihar and Bombay, as mentioned above, or we should evolve something more economical, more utilitarian and if possible equally aesthetic. A pair of shorts is a feasible alternative. Firstly it is more economical because it costs less and can stand more wear and tear than the "Dhoti". And secondly a pair of shorts when worn looks slightly better than the "Dhoti" when it is tucked up in front and behind. But we must not ordinarily walk about or work bare-bodied and therefore we should have an upper garment also. For this there are many variations at present. But for work-a-day purposes, whether in the rural or in the urban areas, and in any case in urban areas, a shirt with short sleeves would be extremely useful. In other words a pair of shorts and a shirt with half sleeves provide a good, useful and economical alternative garment for every-day working purposes. The Nipponese have shown us a practical example in this respect. They have taken up shorts and slight variation of shirts with short sleeves as a work-a-day dress.

On festive occasions connected with religious ceremonies dress may be worn in a variety of forms as prevalent in the rural areas. In the towns dress should be standardized for wearing on special occasions such as attending public or official functions. We have to remember that in urban areas we have to mix with the people of other nations. A certain amount of decorum and decency has to be observed in any case. It is much more impressive if the dress covers the body a slightly more. But in any case it should be uniform.

Specially on occasions such as attending public or official functions. For these two latter purposes the following garments may be worn :—

An upper garment—some form of a coat.

A lower garment—some form of a pant.

A headgear—some form of a hat or pagri.

A footwear—some form of a shoe.

For women the Saree is undoubtedly the most common dress. It is unique in the world. We should maintain it as our typical national dress for our women. It can be worn as such by both the rich and the poor and in every part of India. But for working purposes it should be worn more tightly and without so much flowing about. Particularly women of the working classes have found it is difficult for them to work in factories unless they tuck up the Saree at the back as is done amongst Maratha women of the working classes. In any case they should wear it comparatively shorter and must be well above the heels if they are going to work. The upper garment can either be the blouse or the Choli. They should wear some form of shoes also. The other alternative for a work-a-day dress for women—particularly in factories—is a skirt and a blouse.

Whatever is worn by men and women as far as possible it should be uniform. In Japan, China and Turkey there is uniformity in dress particularly in Turkey and Japan. Apart from producing the sense of uniformity amongst the people, a uniform standardised dress is more economical as it helps mass production. For the common good we have got to consider utility and economy in our dress.

Food. India produces rice, wheat, millet, maize and pulses in abundance. Milk is available everywhere. Comparatively a very large proportion of Indians take rice. Any mixed diet, of rice and wheat, or rice and millet,

or rice and maize is much more strengthening than merely rice alone.

Vegetables are also produced everywhere and should definitely form part of the diet. About a third of the vegetables should be green and leafy. Meat is not essential as long as we get sufficient quantity of milk and milk products in our diet. On an average, the Sikhs have got the best physique amongst the people of India. They do not eat meat every-day. As a matter of fact they seldom eat meat, probably once or twice in a month but they have no objection to take meat. Their daily food consists of whole wheat bread, pulses, spinach or green leafy vegetables, ghee and other milk products. Where however milk is not available, meat, fish or eggs must form part of our diet otherwise we cannot have a balanced diet and this is one of the causes of deterioration of the Indians' physique. In most of the Eastern and Southern parts of India rice is taken whereas in the Northern and Western parts—particularly the Western—the people take wheat or maize. What we want is a well balanced diet which will help in our growth, development and in resisting diseases, will give us sufficient energy to work, and will give muscular and nervous power to protect ourselves in self-defence.

Particularly all over Europe the diet is more or less standardised although local variations of minor significance are present. When the diet is standardised, the production, sale and distribution become easier and more economical and it becomes of particular importance at the time of distress when there has been a failure of food crops. Food materials in that case could be transported from one part of India to the other easily and will be used by the people willingly and will suit their constitution also. A person or a group of persons when they become accustomed to one particular diet, it becomes difficult for them to adjust easily when such food materials either are not available or are scarce or sell at very high prices. Judging from all these points it is desirable to have a standardized and well-balanced diet. The staple food

of rice and wheat could be standardised by having half of the quantity of rice and half of wheat. The rice should be home-pounded and not polished, and wheat flour should be of whole wheat so that we can get the best value of these most important food materials.

DISCARDING OF EVIL, OLD CUSTOMS AND REPLACING THEM BY NEW, BENEFICIAL AND UP-TO-DATE ONES

Human progress depends entirely on human action. This action may be in different fields of man's life. In the social field his action gives rise to many customs and usages. If these are conducive to the efficiency of his work they are beneficial for his development. If they do not help his action they hinder his progress; such customs and manners and usages should not be allowed to continue. But it may also be true that some manners and customs may be beneficial during some stages of human history but cannot be suitable at a later date due to changed conditions of society. In such changed conditions these manners and customs and usages which are not useful should be given up or modified to suit the changed conditions. One must not allow mere sentiment to stand in the way. There are several customs which are thwarting or actually hindering our progress. Some of these are mentioned below :—

1. Early Marriage.
2. Pardah System.
3. Prejudice against Women's Education.
4. Economic Domination of Women.

5. Lack of Tolerance in the observance of Religious and Social Ceremonies.
6. Useless Gossiping on the Road side.
7. Chewing Pan and Spitting on the Road.
8. Walking Bare-bodied in Public.
9. Failure to observe Traffic Rules.
10. Heavy Expenses in Funeral, Marriage and other Ceremonies.
11. Lack of Spirit of Good Citizenship.

1. *Early Marriage*

Early marriage greatly hampers the development and growth of a healthy nation. When the body and mind are not fully matured, progeny of such people cannot get the benefit of a matured body and mind to the fullest extent. Usually children of two young parents, that is, when the parents are married in childhood, as a rule are puny, immature, and greatly under-weight when born. There may be a few exceptions here and there which are often quoted as examples to the contrary, but when a careful analysis is made it is found that children born of these parents are healthy because of fortuitous circumstances, for although the parents were married early, they never came into contact with each other until several years later. Such are rare exceptions, and by these no generalisation should be made. Early marriage not only is grossly detrimental to the progeny but is also markedly detrimental for the health of the mother and it is an economic burden put on the father. Further, early marriage seriously interferes with the education of the parents. Moreover the parents cannot survive long if they begin to have children at an early age.

From all these facts one comes to the definite conclusion that early marriages, that is marriages in childhood should never take place.

For the benefit of the nation as well as of the individuals every healthy young man and woman should marry and procreate. The marriage ages for girls should be about





**Shri Nehru Prime Minister of India with Sri S. K. Mazumder, Mr. Kuzu, Mrs. Tetsu Higuchi
and her relatives at the Indian Embassy at Tokyo.**

18 to 22 and for men 25 to 28. It is also not desirable to have very late marriage. By about the age mentioned above the parents will attain maturity of the body and the mind. The children born of these parents will be mature and strong, and the mothers also would be able to bear child without any difficulty. Men should ordinarily be in a position to earn their livelihood between the ages of 24 and 28. The parents' mental conditions would also be such that they should be able to give and take and from the psychological point of view there should be complete harmony between them. If persons are unable to marry within these ages, and are compelled to marry at a later age, there is something wrong in the social organisation and it should be the duty of the society to remedy such factors, so that all normal persons may be able to marry and establish homes and raise families. Of course it goes without saying that persons who are diseased should not marry under such circumstances, until they are completely cured of such ailments. This is particularly so in the case of contagious and infectious diseases like tuberculosis, leprosy and venereal disease.

2. *Purdah System*

Purdah System means seclusion of women. This is wrong in principle, morally, socially and from every point of view. It is a well known fact that secluded women do suffer from ignorance and bad health. There may be a few exceptions here and there, but they are due to exceptionally favourable circumstances, such as, excellent financial conditions of the husband or the parents. It is morally and socially wrong, because one has no right to put woman at a lower level than man. It is socially wrong because it helps to create division in the society itself. It not only debars men and women from having beneficial influences on each other but leads to division of families and communities. If this custom has been invoked in certain stages of society that is no reason why it should be perpetuated for all time. As conditions

change not only one must judge afresh the social conditions but also try to re-orientate and re-model social conditions so that there is equity and justice between the sexes. It is difficult for a son to have the same regard for the mother as he has for the father, when he sees daily that his mother occupies a definitely inferior position in society as compared to the father. Nor can the husband have the same regard for the wife if he has to face constantly the situation that a wife has to be protected very often and is not in a position to face the world herself. She can never be a real mate if such bad circumstances still prevail ; so we must try to change these circumstances as soon as possible. These untoward circumstances mean backwardness of the society. Sometimes excuses are put up on religious basis but really speaking no religion has provided that women should be herded together in seclusion like cattle. This is only a misinterpretation of the religious injunctions. Therefore, it is imperative upon us to discard the Pardah system as soon as possible.

But this does not mean promiscuous and licentious mixing of the two sexes. Nothing of the kind. Women have got definite duties to themselves and obligations to the society. Their main sphere of action is the home. They should establish homes and raise families, unless some one is so placed for some unavoidable reasons that she cannot do so and has got to earn her own living. This should be an exception rather than a rule, at least during the child-bearing period. Nevertheless for this very reason it is necessary that the Pardah system should be done away with. Otherwise women will become play-things of men and will be under their complete economic and social domination.

Similarly men have got their own spheres of activity, and they should do all they can to discharge their obligations to the society by their activities in such spheres. Men and women are complimentary to each other. One supplements the needs and deficiencies of the other. Social organisations

should be such that both will have the fullest opportunities to perform their respective duties smoothly and efficiently. Women should certainly take much greater interest in constructive social work than what they are doing at present. So also in certain fields of political work they can partake when they are of mature age. Social work includes nursing, welfare work, etc. But they cannot do so if they are strictly secluded under the Pardah system.

3. *Prejudice against Women's Education*

Women must be educated. But at present there is a great deal of active opposition against women being educated. Education allows the growth and development of what there is in the human being. To deny such education is a crime against man and sin against God. It is wrong in principle, morally and socially. Children born of uneducated mothers can never have the same respect for them as those born of educated mothers. Similarly, a husband cannot have the same respect and real affection for a wife who cannot be a real mate to him because unfortunately she has not had the benefit of education. Exceptions there may be, but they should never be quoted as examples for generalisation. Moreover lack of education means lack of knowledge in the intelligent management of the household and in the intelligent bringing up of children. In fact it is difficult for an uneducated mother to mould the character of the children, which is really the foundation of life. Lack of education means financial strain on the resources of the family, because the uneducated housewife has no knowledge about the prevention of disease and therefore sickness is more common in such household, and sickness means financial loss. Because the uneducated wife cannot use the resources of the family in the most economical way and therefore there is a strain on the financial resources of the family. An uneducated woman can never be really helpful to the society as it is difficult for her to act on her own initiative, help other people and take

an active part in social movements. For an uneducated woman it is difficult to appreciate the necessity and benefit of tolerance and the great advantage of having a universal outlook. For an uneducated woman to have initiative and self-confidence is rather difficult. Further, the uneducated woman becomes a plaything of men and remains under his economic domination. From every point of view it is therefore clear that women must be educated and given a chance and equal facilities for development. But that does not necessarily mean that they must all have the same type of education as men. As a general principle they should have such education as would help them to fulfil their normal duties in society and discharge their responsibilities in the family, that is, in establishing a good and ordered house. Education should help them to become intelligent and resourceful mothers, mothers who would know how to bring up children, mothers who would be really a backbone or corner-stone of the society.

Other avenues of life should also be open to women who for some reason or other are unable to establish homes. These may be selected and determined in a way that would be most beneficial for the nation concerned.

For example, there is a great demand for public health nurses, medical women and social workers. They can also serve efficiently as telephone and telegraph operators, work in certain factories, especially cotton, spinning and weaving, in laboratories and so on. For these they must have education; but this education must be such as will make them useful to the nation.

4. *Economic Domination of Women*

Man and woman are complimentary to each other. One cannot reach the fullest development without the intelligent and active co-operation of the other. One can get such co-operation when the faculties of both are more or less equally developed and when both have equal opportunities for the

full play of their capabilities. But this cannot happen if one of the partners is kept under the domination of the other. Economic domination enslaves one and warps the mental attitude. When one is constantly conscious of one's inferior economic position and is not assured of one's financial resources, one naturally cannot work with a balanced and peaceful mind. Moreover there is no reason whatsoever why children should inherit differently because they are different in sexes. Why should there be a difference in the level of affection, between sons and daughters, as far as the parents are concerned? Normally, they should love both sons and daughters equally, and therefore the legacy that is left behind should be inherited by both in equal shares or in any case in a much more equitable manner than it is at present. Further, there is no reason why when the husband dies, the mother, instead of taking charge of the whole family property, moveable or otherwise, should come under the domination of the son or any other person. The wife should legitimately take the place of her husband during his absence. Further, economic domination of women leads ultimately to sexual immorality. Women are driven to insecure positions and in order to earn their livelihood even women of the better classes are subjected to such tyranny. It is therefore very desirable that women should not be under economic domination of men. They should have an equal and fair position in the nation.

It is up to the nation to devise ways and means for her to attain this position. One of them certainly is to give a proper type of education to woman and the removal of such social customs which seriously hamper her activities in life, as Purdah system, early marriage, etc.

5. *Lack of Tolerance towards the feelings of others*

A nation may consist of many communities. If it is to develop and progress it must do so smoothly and harmoniously and that can only happen when each community is tolerant

of the feeling of others. As women are repositories of national traditions, social traditions and manners, it is they who usually perform these ceremonies much more so than men. Of course they often do so in conjunction with the men as their mates. But often it has been noticed that in all these ceremonies, communities of different faith or denomination are excluded from partaking in the joyous festivals that accompany such ceremonies. It is a very great mistake. A person of a different denomination may not actually partake in the formal ceremonies, but there does not seem to be any harm in his participating in the joyous festivals that are usually held in connection with these ceremonies. One should go out of one's way and invite other people to these festivals so that by greater association in the important events of one's life one gets the benefit of the association of others and thus becomes tolerant to them. It is a matter for satisfaction that at least in the cities this tolerance is being observed more and more, but till there is a great way to make up particularly in the smaller towns and especially so in the villages, although in the olden days in the villages there was a great deal of co-operation, fellow-feeling and actual active sympathy in such matters. This should be revived and every encouragement should be given so that there is more and more feeling of tolerance towards each other. It is also a matter of satisfaction that amongst women in India there is far more fellow feeling than there is amongst men, and if this point is emphasised and encouraged there is every likelihood of a greater feeling of tolerance prevailing amongst the people of the different communities in the future. Women should be given every encouragement in taking the initiative and active part in bringing about this feeling of tolerance in the society.

There may be many ways by which this can be brought about. For example, people should partake in the festivals of other communities. Women should be encouraged to go to these festivals and mix with the women of other com-

munities. People should partake in the festivals connected with the different social customs and usages, such as marriages, sacred thread ceremonies, birth and death ceremonies, etc. The more one associates with the people of other communities, the greater will be the growth and tolerance between each other. Society should bear this in mind and emphasise this aspect of life to the utmost extent possible.

6. *Useless Gossiping on the Roadside*

One very often sees people, both men and women, gossiping on the roadside, whether in the villages or in the towns. This gossiping usually is not only useless, but often definitely harmful because it is back-biting each other, narrating unsavoury stories regarding the character of one of their own men or women, spreading false rumours or instigating someone to bring about a malicious law-suit against another. It is not only a waste of time and energy but it is really degrading to all concerned, and therefore it should be given up. One should discourage such useless gossiping on the roadside. The time spent in such useless talks may be well spent in more useful activities which would be more beneficial both to the individuals as well as to the society. There are any number of such activities which may be taken up both by men and women. Moreover it sets a bad example for the children and they too start gossiping with each other when they should be devoting their time to learning something useful.

7. *Chewing Pan and Spitting on Road*

The habits of chewing *Pan* and spitting on the road is very filthy. It not only disfigures the place but indiscriminate spitting spreads diseases. Further, people are so careless that sometimes sprays of such spittle fall on other people, which certainly is most objectionable. *Pan* may be chewed and eaten, but that does not necessarily mean that one should throw about the spittle all over the places. This

filthy habit should be given up. The children pick up this habit from the elders who set a bad example for them. Therefore it should be discarded and children should be forbidden to do so.

8. *Walking Barebodied in Public*

Walking bare-bodied in public is not decent. One must observe some sort of a decorum when one mixes with other people. One need not wear costly clothing but a simple home spun material would be quite sufficient. We have to remember that in the public there are women and people of other communities and nationalities. They have every right to expect one to observe some decency. It is admitted that in many places people are poor, and may not be able to afford decent clothing. But coarse clothing would be quite sufficient. We have many expensive customs where expenses are incurred most unnecessarily. We should curtail such unnecessary expenses in these customs and ceremonies and spend them on our daily necessities such as on food, and clothing. It really is a question of spending of our resources more intelligently and usefully. Most of us can do so if we make up our mind and give our special attention towards this. The insistence of wearing such clothing in the public gives also the incentive for a person to seek work and exert himself to his fullest capacity. This should be so. It also gives an incentive to the children to expect a more decent standard of life.

9. *Observing Traffic Rules for the Control of Traffic*

For the busy streets of the cities and for important highways, traffic rules are framed and promulgated.

The object of these rules is :—

- (1) To evolve order in the streets, particularly when there is heavy traffic and more so when the traffic is fast moving.

- (2) To save unnecessary loss of life and injury through accidents.
- (3) To facilitate speedy moving of fast-going traffic.
- (4) To protect the pedestrians particularly when crossing the streets.

These rules should be observed carefully by all concerned, whether one is driving a bullock cart or driving a motor car or walking in the streets. The traffic constables' signs or where there are green, yell and red lamps—such signals should be implicitly obeyed. The drivers should stop their cart or cars behind the white line drawn across the streets on which they are proceeding. The pedestrians should cross the streets at the place specially marked for them usually indicated by white lines. The pedestrians should not carelessly cross the streets at random. They should stick to the footpaths meant for them. In these days of fast moving traffic, jay walking in streets is as reprehensible as rash driving. In many countries, jay walking in streets is punishable in the same way as driving a car on the wrong side of a road. The traffic should keep to the left side of the road. It would always pay to follow these traffic rules carefully and implicitly. It would save life as well as money. "Safety First" should be our motto.

10. *Heavy Expenses in Funeral, Marriage and other Ceremonies*

Very heavy expenses are incurred on ceremonies connected with marriage, funerals and births. Expenses connected with such ceremonies and festivals should be cut down to a minimum. They are wholly unnecessary and it was never intended that such heavy expenses should be incurred by people. Such costly ceremonies and festivals have ruined many families. They are a terrible load and burden on the working classes. Even the middle classes have to incur debts to meet such expenses and this debt passes on from generation to generation, the net result being that the

middle and the working classes can never have a better standard of day-to-day life as they are ground down with the load of heavy debt. From every point of view, it is essential that these heavy expenses should never be incurred. The ceremonies should be as simple as possible, more stress being laid on the spiritual side rather than making them occasions for displaying one's wealth, which is very often borrowed and not really one's own. Even if one has got the money to spend on such ceremonies, it is far better for the welfare of the community that these expenses are not incurred and that they are spent on much more useful work such as education, medical and distress relief, healthier food and clothing, etc.

11. *Lack of Spirit of Good Citizenship*

Human progress demands a well-ordered corporate life. Such corporate life could only achieve success, if every constituting individual member of that organisation co-operates and acts intelligently. In other words, a man must know what his duties and obligations are as a citizen, and he must discharge his responsibilities willingly and intelligently.

What is required of him is to do the right thing at the right time and place. When dealing with people, he should deal fairly and with the sense of equity and justice. He should obey the orders of the Realm, not only when he is under observation but also when he is not being watched. In other words there should be a spontaneous desire to obey the orders. He should always be prepared to help the peaceful citizen carrying on his rightful occupation. But he should always be patriotic. He should have a righteous desire to help his fellow beings in every way he can, even if it meant a sacrifice on his part. He should help his nation spontaneously in times of stress and war. Nothing great has been achieved in this world without sacrifice. He should be willing to do voluntary work for the sake of his country. He should have a broad, tolerant and universal outlook in life.

In a greater part of the Orient, there has been a lack of this spirit of good citizenship and that is why there has been comparatively little progress in these countries except in Nippon where people within the last 50 years have shown a splendid spirit of citizenship with the result that they have achieved marvellous social and civic success. There may not be any royal road laid down for every citizen to discharge his duties in every respect. It largely depends upon his own character and education. A person should feel it a matter of pride to discharge his duties as a citizen of his own country in particular and as a citizen of the world in general.

Notes From Japan*

I.

RUSSO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

TOKYO,

October 22, 1922.

Although the Russo-Japanese Conference at Changchun failed to accomplish anything because of the divergence of opinion that prevailed in regard to the Nikolaiesk affair as reported in my last letter, all indications point to the fact that both parties are anxious to resume negotiations as soon as a favourable opportunity presents itself. So far as Japan is concerned, she has every reason to be willing to conclude a friendly treaty with the Far Eastern Republic at an early date. According to her declared policy the withdrawal of Japanese troops is being carried on in spite of the breakdown of the Conference and the evacuation is expected to be completed by the end of this month. The problem which is now engaging the serious attention of the Tokyo Government is the protection of the lives and property of the Japanese residents in Siberia. The people are mostly engaged in commercial enterprises. They have invested considerable capital there and consequently it is not possible for them to leave the country immediately the Japanese troops evacuate Siberia. On the other hand, with the departure of the Japanese troops a bloody encounter is sure to take place between the Whites and the Reds with the result that the country will be thrown into the vortex of an anarchy with all that it may mean.

* *Standard Bearer*, Vol. III, No. 15 (5-12-22).

Today's press despatches from Siberia announce an engagement between the Soviet and the Reactionary forces and the defeat of the latter. If Japan had been able to conclude an agreement with Chita, she could entrust the protection of her subjects to that government. But as it is, Japanese residents in Siberia have no Russian Government to turn to in case of emergency. Another cogent reason which is actuating Japan to seek Russian friendship is the prospect of utilising the material resources of Siberia for her needs. She is a rising industrial country, but she is greatly handicapped for want of raw materials. As matters stand at present, she has to get necessary materials from far off countries, some of them being unfortunately unfavourably disposed towards her. In times of peace she can somehow or other fulfil her requirements, although she may have to face a keen competition. But in time of war she cannot but be at the mercy of the country holding command of the seas. If Japan could secure Russian friendship, she will not experience any difficulty in obtaining raw materials even in times of war. And the third—rather the most important motive—is political. Japan is already feeling the menacing pressure of Anglo-Saxon imperialism in various ways. She has come to realise the fact that she has been placed in a position of isolation by the clever machinations of the Anglo-Saxon countries. In order to extricate herself from this dangerous situation, the only thing which she should do is to effect an equally strong combination. In the absence of a free India and a strong China, her natural allies, she has no other alternative but to seek the help of Russia, a semi-Asiatic country, having common interest so far as the Anglo-Saxon imperialism is concerned. And that is what Japan is striving to do. Political prophets here express the opinion that the beginning of the next year will see the resumption of negotiations between the two countries.

RUSSO-CHINESE NEGOTIATIONS

After the fruitless ending of the Russo-Japanese Conference at Changchun, Mons. A. A. Joffe, who was acting as the representative of the Moscow Government, left for Peking in order to prepare the ground for a Russo-Chinese treaty. On reaching the capital he sent in a communication to the Chinese Foreign Office, proposing a conference for the purpose of settling all outstanding questions and concluding a friendly treaty between the two countries. Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Foreign Minister, however, demanded that the Mongolian question be taken up first. This the Soviet representative refused to do and at the same time lodged a protest to the whites in Manchuria. The purport of Mons. Joffe's communication in reply to Dr. Wellington Koo's demand is as follows :—

. “(1) The Russian representative has never expressed his agreement as to the discussion of any subject as a previous question at the conference. On the occasion of his interview with the Chinese Foreign Minister prior to the exchange of memoranda relating to the conference he emphasized the necessity of discussing simultaneously all the questions bearing on politics, foreign policy, economics, and commerce in both countries. In these circumstances the abrupt proposal made by the Chinese government that the Mongolian question should be taken up first is rather surprising to the Russians.

“(2) Russia has repeatedly addressed warnings to China in regard to China's hostile actions as manifested in the assistance to the whites and the destruction of Soviet Government plans in Outer Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan. Then Russia proposed to the Chinese a joint expedition to Mongolia, but as China failed to reply, Russia was compelled to send troops alone for purposes of self-defence.

“(3) The troops in Eastern Turkestan were withdrawn immediately on the removal of the white menace there. As

to the evacuation of Outer Mongolia, unfortunately the time has not yet arrived for doing so. That is, the danger in Outer Mongolia against Soviet Russia and the Far Eastern Republic not only is not disappearing, but has been increasing lately.

"(4) The Russian government is in possession of definite proof that the Chinese authorities in North Manchuria are not only not preventing the activities of the whites, but are assisting them."

Although more than two centuries ago Outer Mongolia gained a semi-autonomous status under the old Manchu dynasty of China, the Mongols were never satisfied with this arrangement. They had all along been endeavouring for complete independence, and a favourable opportunity occurring in 1911 when they declared themselves entirely independent of Peking and at the same time sought the aid of Czarist Russia in order to frustrate any attempt of China to 'reclaim' the country. Finally an agreement was reached between Peking and Petrograde which acknowledged the autonomy of Mongolia and also China's suzerainty over the country. The events of 1917 culminating in the fall of Imperialistic Russia afforded an opportunity to China to re-establish her influence in Mongolia, for the menace of interference from Russia was at least temporarily removed. By the use of military force China succeeded in planting her authority there. She stationed a large garrison in Urga, the capital of Mongolia, although this act was in direct violation of the Russo-Chinese agreement mentioned above. In the meantime Baron Ungerm, a leader of the Russian reactionaries in Siberia, crossed into Mongolia with his forces and captured Urga. This occurred in February last year. Using this place as a base the notorious Baron carried on a campaign against the Chita Government till the Soviet forces too crossed the Mongolian border, defeated the White troops, captured Baron Ungerm, the commander, and occupied Urga. The Soviet troops are still in possession of the place.

Peking takes the stand that the Russian troops must be withdrawn immediately, whereas Moscow contends that they will be withdrawn as soon as Russia is satisfied that Mongolia will not be allowed to be used as a base of anti-Soviet military operations.

BIG CHINESE DEMONSTRATION FOR REDUCTION OF ARMY

According to a Peking despatch to the local press, on the occasion of the Chinese national holiday on 10th October in commemoration of the establishment of the republic, a big demonstration was held in Peking for the immediate reduction of the army. More than 70 organisations with 20,000 persons participated in it. They declared that the country was not only facing a critical financial condition, but the national life was menaced by domestic disputes among the Chinese militarists and their troops. They pointed out the heavy increase of military expenses in spite of the empty treasury of the Government, and called upon the public to take severe measures for the termination of such a state of affairs. The demonstrators marched from the four main gates of Peking at a signal by fireworks. Banners and flags with the inscriptions "the army should be reduced and the nation must be saved," "down with the militarists," "soldiers must be made labourers," "down with the capitalists," "recognise Soviet Russia," and "remove the fraudulent diplomacy of Great Britain, America, France and Japan" were carried by them and a large number of leaflets were scattered in the streets as they marched. In the afternoon the paraders reached the square outside and speeches were delivered from a platform to an enormous crowd, Mr. Lin Chang-min, former Minister of Justice, Dr. Dasi, President of the Peking University, and General Tingchin, former Commandant of the Aviation Corps, being among the principal speakers.

EUCKEN AND GANDHI

“Professor Rudlof Eucken, of the University of Jena, in an interview with a Japanese correspondent”, writes the *Osaka Mainichi*, a most influential Japanese daily, “gave many interesting views on various problems, among which he is reported to have commented on the problems in India to the following effect :

‘I believe that Gandhi is the only person who can save India. Tagore is a great poet, but in comparison with Gandhi he is not a thinker able to lead his nation at this critical time. Gandhi’s conviction in the final victory of the doctrine of passive resistance is truly grand.’ It is interesting to note that to Professor Eucken, who is the famous advocate of spiritual fighting, the key-note of his whole philosophy being “Evolution through struggle,” Gandhi’s doctrine of non-resistance with its corollary of non-co-operation seems to be the most useful weapon whereby to fight through the battle of humanity in the India of to-day.”

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The same paper writes thus on the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress : “The Indian National Congress, which is the non-official parliament of India, is going to be convened about December 22 for a week in Gaya, Behar. The true opinions and sentiments of the people of India find expression at this Congress, rather than at the official parliament organised under British influence. As we all know, India is now passing through kaleidoscopic political, economic and social changes. The Indian question, especially the non-co-operation movement led by Mahatma Gandhi, is attracting world-wide attention. Japan’s relations with India date back more than two thousand years, and it is a great pity that she has not taken as much interest in Indian affairs as she ought to have, especially in view of the

fact that India belongs to Asia, and the rise and fall of any Asiatic country is, and ought to be, a matter of vital concern to Japan herself. We understand that this year's session of the National Congress will deal with momentous issues affecting the future status of India and a decision will be made about the launching of the mass civil disobedience movement. Many British and American journalists are now visiting India in order to obtain first-hand information for their countrymen. In view of the importance of this session it is hoped that the Japanese press will also be well represented and fully report the proceedings of the Congress."

As already stated in my previous letters, the Japanese public have begun to evince a keen interest in the Indian movement. Two voluminous books, with photos and illustrations, have already been published by a friend of your correspondent. There is hardly any magazine or paper of note which is not regularly carrying articles on India. It is possible that some Japanese papers will send their representatives to India this winter. I therefore beg to request all my fellow-countrymen, especially the Congress authorities, to show them every courtesy and place all facilities at their disposal in order to enable them to know the actual condition.

JAPAN'S PARIAH PROBLEM

It is not India alone that is confronted with the problem of the outcast. Japan has the same problem also. The pariahs of Japan are called "Eta" which means outcast in Japanese. They number approximately 8,000,000 and are settled in the Kyoto and Osaka districts. Some of them are wealthy and have considerable influence in economic circles. They have an association called "Nippon Suihei Kai" which rendered into English means "Japan Horizontal Society". The object of the Society is to protect the interests of the "Eta" class. Recently there was a meeting under the auspices of this association and many leading Eta represen-

tatives came down from all parts of the country. Numerous speeches were delivered condemning bitterly the social discrimination practised against the Eta. Some of the speakers indignantly demanded to know why they were barred from social intercourse when they shared equally in national conscription and taxation. Instances in which their children were unable to attend elementary schools because they were bullied by other children were cited by many. One speaker told of a child being struck deaf by a policeman because of a minor offence. When the higher authorities were appealed to, the case was dismissed. Whenever a dispute occurs between the Eta and the rest of the villagers, the case is invariably settled partially, said another speaker. The meeting terminated with an appeal for equal social treatment for the Eta.

Be it said to the credit of the Japanese Government, that it is leaving no stone unturned to ameliorate the condition of the Eta and to remove the prejudice of the people against them. Many public spirited Japanests also have taken up the cause of Eta, and it appears to be a question of time only when the Eta will be able to secure equal social status with the other Japanese.

JAPAN'S FESTIVALS

Japan is a land of festivals. Hardly a month passes without a festival of some kind. During this month three festivals were held. On the 12th instant the annual festival in honour of Saint Nichiren, founder of the Nichiren Sect of Buddhists, was celebrated at the famous Honmonji temple situated a few miles outside Tokyo. Tens of thousands of persons visited the temple and trams and electric cars ran all night to carry the worshippers to the place. To the accompaniment of the temple drums, thousands after thousands of persons passed before the main temple, clapped their hands together and muttered the sacred formula of the sect "Namu

Myoho Renge Kyo" (Oh, the Scripture of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law).

On the 17th instant New Harvest Season festival was celebrated throughout Japan. *Sake* (a kind of Japanese wine) made from the new rice of the year was offered to the spirit of Ama-terasu, the Sun Goddess, at the Grand Shrine of Ise, while at other shrines' sake, rice cakes and vegetables were offered and prayers read. The ceremony was first established during the reign of Emperor Mommu (697-707) and has been observed at the conclusion of the harvest season each year since that time.

At the time of this writing (22nd) the Yasuk shrine festival is being celebrated. Usually temple festivals in Japan owe their origin to mythology, but this festival only dates back to the Restoration. During the first year of Meiji, Prince Arisugawa led the Imperial army from Kyoto to Tokyo against the Shogunate forces. In celebration of this victories and in memory of those Samurais who had laid down their lives for the Imperial cause, the Prince ordered a religious ceremony to be performed on the highest point of vantage in Tokyo. Kudan Hill from which the people of Tokyo used to watch the moon rise and illuminate the Bay of Tokyo in the distance, was therefore selected and the Yasukuni Shrine was later built there.

According to the latest available figures, there are 190,560 public shrines and temples and 66,233 priests throughout the country. The number of private shrines and temples is not available. But an idea can be formed from the fact that 95 out of every 100 Japanese families have their *kamidanas*, a corner of a room where offerings are made to God and incense burnt.

Notes From Japan*

II.

Herewith a cutting from the *Osaka Mainichi*, a Japanese daily in English recently started, on Indian arrests.

Much of the actual conditions in India are unfortunately hidden from the public eye, thanks to the assiduous efforts on the part of the British censors, but according to the *Manchester Guardian*, the influential liberal organ in England, the number of arrests in connection with the Non-Co-operation movement under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi now amounts to more than 10,000. If the report has any truth in it, we wonder why the public opinion of the world does not raise its voice against the drastic measures taken by the British authorities to suppress a popular movement of the Oriental race, whatever minority the movement may actually represent. It is not for us to pass criticism on the internal politics of our old Ally, but the world is changing fast making national issues into international affairs, so much so that any injustice done to even a fraction of mankind in any part of the world, cannot pass without undergoing searching criticism, if not actual judgment. It was to this cause that Japan had to face many a hard criticism on her alleged mis-government of Chosen, yet at no time did Japan keep 10,000 Chosenese in prison.

"THE AWAKENING OF ASIA"

Under the above caption the *Yorodzu Choho*, a leading Japanese daily of Tokyo, deals with the present movement in India and other parts of Asia and Africa. It is a great advocate of Asian independence and frequently indulges

**Standard Bearer*, Vol. III, No. 2 (22-8-22).

in severe criticism of the policy of the whites towards the coloured people, i.e. the people of Asia and Africa. "Coloured people" signifies the inhabitants of Asia and Africa, i.e. the non-white people. A translation (into English) of the article follows :—

The supremacy of the whites over the world has not a very long history.

The map of the world at the time of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of England was, for instance, very widely different from what we see at present. It was in 1838 that the accession of Queen Victoria took place. In other words, it was that year in which Prince Yamagata* and Marquis Okuma were born. Although the whites had already been showing much activity before, the influence at the time was nothing as compared with their influence at present. The northern and southern ends of Africa had just fallen into their hands. Australia had only a few open ports. Melbourne was opened the year just previous to Queen Victoria's accession. The interior of Australia was thus a sealed book to the whites. As for America, buffaloes were roaming in the districts west of the Mississippi. It was ten years after the accession of Queen Victoria that gold mines in California began to attract the attention of eastern Americans. San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland and Seattle, which are now all prosperous cities, did not exist. The waters of the Pacific were not, indeed, touched by the hand of the white. Japan and China were sleeping soundly. In Japan, Kwazan Watanabe and Choei Kono wrote books warning their countrymen of possible attacks from the whites but these warnings failed to arouse the Japanese from their slumbers. After the exploits of Marco Polo the central part of Asia was visited by a few explorers, and in all the expanse extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Great Wall of China there were no whites. During the last 85 years, how-

* Yamagata and Matsukata are two great statesmen of Japan. The former died last year (1921).

ever, the whites have succeeded in extending their influence all over the world. Fifty odd years of Queen Victoria's reign doubled the territory of England. Russia also witnessed a great expansion during the same period. The Whites in America brought the Pacific coast under their influence, while the South Seas, South America and Africa have all passed under the sway of the whites. The rise of the influence of the whites threatens the weaker of the coloured races with extermination. The Caribs in the West Indies have already gone to utter ruin, and the Maoris, Kanakas and the Towbans in the Pacific islands are gradually going to ruin. Even those which are not ruined are reduced to the position of slaves. When the whites have thus been acting with a high hand everywhere in the world, the coloured races have had a gradual awakening. The victorious war which Japan waged against Russia convinced the coloured races of the world of their ability to conquer the whites. Finding themselves unable to remain under the rule of whites long, Gandhi and his followers made their appearance in India. Gandhi was arrested by the British authorities and thrown into prison, but the ideas that he has implanted deeply in the Indian mind cannot be so easily removed. The Indians to the number of 300,000,000, who are in sympathy with the ideas of Gandhi, are determined not to stop their movement until independence is attained. Among the Filipinos have arisen Aguinaldo and Quezon. However hard the Americans may try to obstruct their independence movement by wanton disregard of the open pledges they have given the Filipinos, the later will go on with their movements until their goal is reached. Again, from among the coloured races under the rule of Americans has appeared Mr. Garvin, who is claiming possession of Africa which was formerly the land of their ancestors, by his race. He is also declaring that America is a land of coloured races and that the whites are intruders. Although we note that among the Chinese are some who are foolish enough to be made pawns by the

whites to foment anti-Japanese sentiment among their ecountrymen, the fact cannot be denied that things are readily moving in the direction of the general awakening of the coloured races. This general trend of the situation no amount of underhand and cunning devices, at which the whites are good hands, will be able to stem. The past 85 years will be an age in which the coloured races will emerge from the position of indignity and enjoy full freedom.

Notes From Japan*

III.

CONTROL OF THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY RETURNED TO PEKING GOVERNMENT

The Tokyo Foreign Office issued a statement on 2nd instant announcing the termination of the allied control over the Chinese Eastern and Trans-Siberian Railways. During the War, the Allies took up the management of these railways in order to maintain them in efficient operation, as they vitally affected the eastern front. The control over the Chinese Eastern Railway has, however, been continued after the termination of the War, the Trans-Siberian Railway having reverted to Russia when the Soviet came into power during the progress of the last War. But on China's representation at the Washington Arms Conference the Allies agreed to restore it at an early date, and in conformity with this decision, the Chinese Eastern Railway, has now been returned to China.

* *Standard Bearer*, Vol. III, No. 20 (16-1-23).

THE QUESTION OF KWANTUNG

It was thought that with the retrocession of the Shantung peninsula to China, the friendly relations that subsisted in the past between the two neighbouring Asiatic States would be restored, and both would adopt a common policy for the advancement of Asia's interests. But the recent resolution of the Chinese parliament annulling the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1915 on which rests Japan's claim to hold Kwantung after March 1923 bids fair to revive in a most acute form from the bitter feelings of the recent past to the detriment of the best interests of both.

To understand how the territory in question came into Japan's possession and what legal title Japan has to it, it is necessary to go back to the Sino-Japanese War. On the defeat of China at the hands of Japan, the former sued for peace, and by the terms of the peace treaty, historically known as the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which was drawn up in 1895, agreed to cede Kwantung to Japan. Then took place what is known as the "three-powers intervention". Russia, France and Germany intervened and "advised" Japan not to accept the cession, intimating at the same time that the "advice" would be backed by armed force, if necessary. Japan, exhausted as she was after the War, had therefore no other alternative Powers. She abandoned the territory and received in exchange thirty million taels from China. After this event hardly two years had passed when Russia presented a demand at Peking for the lease of the territory, and China was literally forced to sign an agreement on March 25, 1898, ceding the whole of the Kwantung territory to Russia for 25 years. The Russo-Japanese War a few years later, however, changed the whole aspect of the question. The Treaty of Portsmouth provided for the transfer of the place to Japan, and China recognised the fact in the Peking treaty of December 22, 1905. Thus the territory passed into the hands of Japan. In the ordinary course of things, lease should expire on March 25, 1923. But the Sino-Japanese

treaty of 1915 contained a clause extending the term of the lease to a period of 99 years. That is Japan's legal title to the possession of the place till 1997. But China refuses to recognise the validity of the 1915 treaty and contends that it was signed under duress, whereas Japan denies that any kind of pressure was exerted and holds that the sanctity of international treaties should be observed.

FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC JOINS THE MOSCOW SOVIET

The Chita (Far Eastern Republic) National Assembly at its session on 14th instant, passed a resolution dissolving the Chita Government and placing the administration of the country under the Moscow Government. The reasons which actuated the assembly to take this extraordinary course were that the conditions which brought into life the Far Eastern Republic, composed of Russian Siberian territories east of Lake Baikal, no longer existed and that the future of citizens lay in re-unification with Soviet Russia rather than in independent existence.

Following the fall of Admiral Kolchak's reactionary Government at Omsk when the Soviet troops had come as far as Lake Baikal more than two years ago, there came into existence four Governments in Siberia, one at Verkhne-Udinsk, another at Blagoveschenk and the third at Vladivostok, all of them being in sympathy with Soviet Russia, while the notorious "white" leader Ataman Semionov established a reactionary Government in Chitta backed by foreign gold. But the career of the Ataman was a short-lived one, and in the middle of November 1920 he suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Red forces and fled to Dairen in Manchuria. He thus disappeared from the Siberian situation as a real factor, although he is reported to be still carrying on intrigues from foreign soil. After the capture of Chita by the Red forces, the three Red Governments, Vladivostok, Verkhneudinsk and Blagoveschenck, decided to unite

together under the name of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic and make Chita its capital. By December of 1920 this had been accomplished, and in January next year elections were held and a national assembly was convened which drew up a constitution which went into effect on 17th April 1921.

On May 25, however, a *coup d'etat* was engineered by reactionary leaders in Vladivostock and the local government overthrown. Thus the only important Russian port on the Pacific and one of the most important strategic points in Siberia passed into the hands of the whites and remained under their control till the evacuation of the place by the Japanese troops at the end of last month when it was re-absorbed by the Chita Republic, the whites having run away on the approach of the Red forces following the Japanese withdrawal. This, in short, is the history of the establishment of the Far Eastern Government in Siberia.

The action of the Chita Assembly in voting to abolish the Republic was not unexpected to careful students of Far Eastern politics. The Chita Republic was especially created by Moscow to serve as a buffer state between Russia and Japan whose statement at one time appeared to be awfully sacred because of the rumour of Russian attempt to spread Bolshevism in the Far Eastern countries, in order not to allow Japan any pretext for delaying the withdrawal of her troops from Siberia. Now that Japan has completely evacuated the place, the reason for the existence of the Chita Government has ceased to exist, and consequently the National Assembly has taken steps for reunion with the Soviet. The Siberians believe, moreover, that by re-absorption into the parent country their economic conditions would be bettered, they would be placed in a stronger diplomatic and military position in dealing with foreign powers, and their nationalistic feeling that they are Russians before all else would be satisfied.

JAPAN'S BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR 1923-24

The following is the outline of Japan's Budget for 1923-24, which will be presented to the Diet for approval after Christmas :—

Departments		In Yen 1,000
Imperial Household	.. ..	4,500
Foreign Affairs	.. ..	20,240
Home Affairs	.. ..	115,000
Finance	.. ..	313,000
War	.. ..	205,000
Navy	.. ..	276,000
Justice	.. ..	29,700
Education	.. ..	86,798
Agriculture & Commerce	.. ..	50,100
Communications	.. ..	148,217

The total in round figure is Yen 1,250,000,000

It will be seen therefrom that the Army and Naval estimates have been considerably reduced, the current fiscal year's figures being Yen 252,400,000 and Yen 393,662,000 respectively. The Department of Education is contemplating various reforms, such as the grant of subsidy to primary schools, elevation of five colleges to university status, and the establishment of special research courses and additional higher schools, and the Budget estimate of this Department shows an increase of Yen 28,456,000 over that of the current fiscal year.

The following is a comparative table of amounts of subsidies from the treasury of Japan to her colonies :—

	1922-23	1923-24
Korea ..	15,917,000	15,600,000
Kwantung (in China) ..	4,300,000	4,300,000
Saghalien ..	1,100,000	1,250,000
South Sea Regions ..	5,239,000	3,300,000

It should be noted in this connection that America and Japan are the only two countries in the world who helped and still help the colonial treasuries from the home treasuries. For a number of years America has rendered financial help to the Philippines Government, and Japan has continued spending a considerable sum every year from the home treasury for Korea since the annexation of the peninsula about 12 years ago. This fact is in striking contrast with the relentless economic and financial policy pursued by England in India.

REAL WINTER BEGINS IN JAPAN

All Japan is now suffering from severe cold snap, and heavy snowfall is reported from many districts, in some places snow reaching a depth of eight inches. Although Tokyo and its vicinity have as yet no fall, the temperature has registered 39 degrees.

JAPANESE BARRED NATURALISATION IN AMERICA

The United States Supreme Court has decided that the Japanese are not eligible for naturalisation in America. The judges held that "white persons" meant persons of Caucasian race, and as the Japanese did not belong to it, they are not entitled to be American citizens. This decision is being very severely criticised by the local press and the following translation of an article appearing in the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, a leading Japanese daily, correctly voices the public opinion here :

"Since the discovery of the American continent by Columbus the yellow race has constantly been oppressed by the white race, and the recent decision of the American Supreme Court has established an impassable barrier between the two races. It would, however, be a serious mistake if the Americans believe, as the *New York Tribune* believes, that the Japanese people, who presented the racial equality

proposal at the Paris conference four years ago, will consign to oblivion all racial problems. If the white peoples intend the decision of the American Supreme Court to put an end to these problems, their attempts may lead to serious consequences.

"The Asiatic people who number 900,000,000, cannot understand why North and South America, Australia and New Zealand, which are extensive, sparsely populated and rich in natural resources, must be left to the exclusive occupation of the white peoples. They regard as most unreasonable the attitude of the white peoples that it is the white men's privilege to monopolise the territory which their superior strength put in their possession.

The white races, who have gained a monopoly of the major part of the rich territories of the world by force, are the most tyrannical privileged classes among the races. We live in an age in which monopoly must give way to fair distribution, and this is the reason why we, the yellow race numbering 9,000,000,000, claim the same freedom and rights as are enjoyed by the whites everywhere on earth. The decision recently given by the American Court may gradually undermine the position built up by Japanese immigrants in America after years of assiduous effort, and the anti-Japanese laws enacted in various states may prove ruinous to Japanese interests. But the demand for equal treatment for all races, which is said to have given President Wilson a sleepless night at Paris when it was formally put forth at the Peace Conference, will not vanish, no matter whether the right of naturalisation is denied the Japanese, or the last Japanese immigrant is driven out of America. This demand, indeed, will increase in proportion as the civilization of Japan and other Eastern countries advances".

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, former President of the Colonel Government in China says: Japan lost chance of uniting the Asiatics and driving out the whites by joining the Allies.

"If Japan had sided with the Central Powers in the

World War, all Asia would have risen against the Whites, and today there would have been an Asia controlled by the Asiatics", declare Dr. Sun Yat-sen of China in an interview with a representative of the Japanese daily *The Fiji* at Shanghai.

"In joining in the world war on the side of the allied power, Japan failed to utilise the golden opportunity of making Asia exclusive for the Asiatics", said Dr. Sun Yat-sen. "Such an Asia would have opposed the whites, especially the Anglo-Saxons. At the beginning of the world war, I wrote Mr. Inukai (Mr. Inukai is the president of the Nationalist Party of Japan and a great friend of India, having on many occasions helped your correspondent in various ways and always taking keen interest in the Indian movement for *Swarajya*), urging Japan to assist the Teutonic Powers, thereby impairing the relative strength of the Anglo-Saxons and balancing the power of the world. The result of such a situation would have been the promotion of the position of Japan to the real leadership of the Asiatics. But Japan did not accept my advice, thus letting slip heaven-sent opportunity of making herself the leader of the Orient.

If Japan had understood what is called high politics, and if she had been bold enough to declare war against the allies, Annam and Singapore would have risen in arms against France and England. There is not the slightest doubt but that the Indians would have revolted against Great Britain and the Turks and Chinese would have recovered their national consciousness and supported Japan in her effort to unite Asia.

"As it is, Japan participated in the war on the side of the Allied countries with the result that realization of the Pan-Asiatic plan has been delayed indefinitely. As Japan has shown herself incapable of seizing the opportunity, it will be China that will be called upon to make Asia a place for Asiatics in the future.

"In the early days of the world war, I called upon various

Japanese statesmen of influence and urged them to use their weight in influencing public opinion in favour of participation on the side of Germany. They, however, refused to listen to me seriously. Some of them, indeed, showed agreement with my view, but when it came to action, they hesitated, and the result is that the best opportunity of making Asia Asiatic in every sense has been lost.

“It is not too late for Japan to undo what she did blindly during the war. If Japan really wishes to see Asia controlled by Asiatics, she must promote friendly relations with the Russians. Russians are Asiatics. There runs in their veins Asiatic blood. Japan must make common cause with the Russians in opposing the aggression of the Anglo-Saxons. In shaking hands with Russia in the work of asserting the rights of the Asiatics alone lies the hope of salvation from the catastrophe to which Japan and the other Oriental countries are being forced by the insatiable ambition of Anglo-Saxons”.

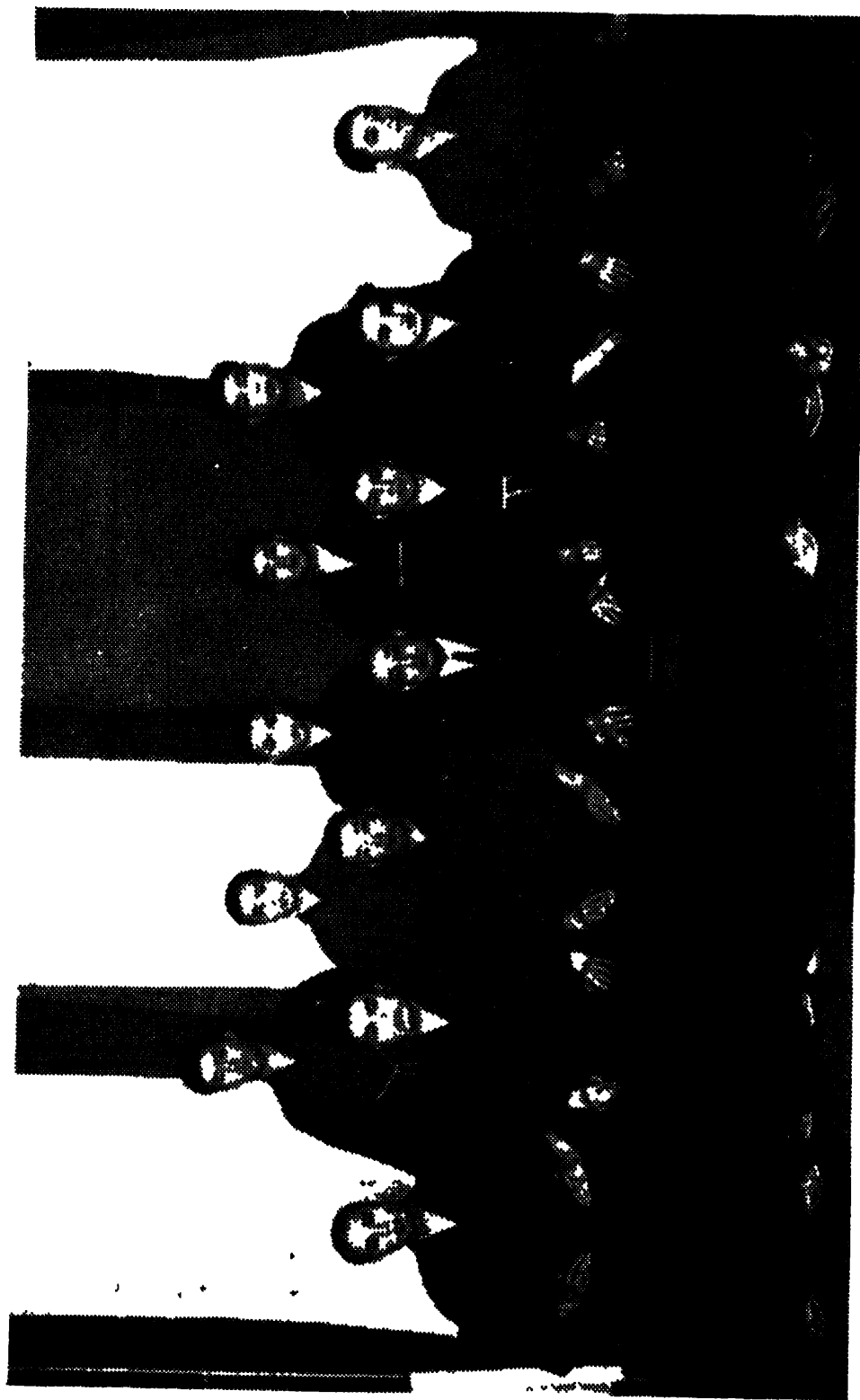
Notes From Japan*

IV.

Sri Rash Behari Bose sends us the following for further information regarding the Hindusthani Association in Japan of which we published a report in our last issue.

“It is regrettable to note that the number of Indian students, who come to Japan for prosecuting further studies, is on the decline. Probably the want of accurate information as to the facilities afforded by the Japanese educational institutions etc. may be one of the many reasons for this decline. With a view to furnish accurate information for

* *Standard Bearer*, Vol. III, No. 18 (26-12-22).



A reception of Shri Rash Behari Basu at TAKUSHOKU UNIVERSITY :—Mr. Katoh,
Mr. T. Nagano, Mr. Inoue, Mr. Sano, Mr. T. Sunada, Mr. S. Tejima, Mr. S. Motoyama,
Shri Rash Behari Basu (centre-sitting), Mr. Nashiyama, Mr. Noguei, Mr. T. Itoh.

intending students, the Hindusthani Association of Japan investigated the existing facilities for the education of Indian students in Japan and the following is a brief summary of the facts regarding the existing conditions in Japan.

It is very desirable that a greater number of Indian students should come to Japan every year to study especially Sericulture and other Industrial subjects, since Japan is in the forefront so far as the sericultural and industrial education is concerned. As regards Agriculture and its allied branches such as Fishery it is better for Indian students to go to other countries where the difficulty of learning a totally new language is less arduous. Even in the case of Sericulture and other Industrial subjects, the students should come prepared to spend at least the first year of their stay in Japan towards studying the Japanese language. The language difficulty is one of the biggest difficulties for the Indian student in Japan and all the lectures are in the Japanese language.

Just at present Indian students are studying in the Agricultural College of the Tokyo Imperial University, the Tokyo Imperial Sericultural College and Tokyo Higher Technical College.

The Agricultural College has the following courses of study, each course extending over a period of three years :—

- (1) Agriculture
 - (a) Agriculture proper
 - (b) Agricultural Politics and Economy
- (2) Agricultural Chemistry
- (3) Forestry
- (4) Veterinary Medicine
- (5) Fishery.

The Tokyo Sericultural College is not affiliated to any University and is of the same standard as the second grade colleges of the Indian Universities and has three courses of study :—

- (1) Sericulture Proper
- (2) Mulberry Cultivation

(3) Filature—Theory and Practice.

Each course extends over a period of three years.

The Higher Technical College, Tokyo, affords facilities for the critical and practical training in the following subjects :—

- (1) Dyeing and Weaving
- (2) Applied Chemistry
- (3) Mechanical Engineering
- (4) Electricity
- (5) Ceramics
- (6) Industrial Designs
- (7) Architecture.

The period of study for each branch is three years.

The Academic year commences in April of each year and students seeking admission to any of the above institutions should send in their applications as early as possible before that date.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR ADMISSION

Indian students are admitted as special students only, but if they are prepared to get through the entrance examination held in the Japanese language, then they may be admitted as regular students.

An applicant for admission to the Agricultural College must have a degree of proficiency equivalent to that of the Intermediate in Arts or Sciences of any Indian University, whilst students satisfactorily finishing the High School Course in India can get admission to the Sericultural and the Higher Technical Colleges. The above is the minimum qualification necessary but it is best for the students to possess higher qualifications. Graduates in Science of an Indian University will find it easy to follow the course in the Higher Technical College.

It must be understood that no degree is conferred on students who are admitted as special students only.

SCHEDULE OF FEES

The amount of tuition fees in the Agriculture College is 5 Yen for admission and 75 Yen annual fee, while in the Sericultural and the Technical Colleges the admission fee is 5 Yen and annual fee 50 Yen.

It is important to note that Japan has become a very costly country to live in since the World War. Prices of things have gone up three times and the hitherto prevailing idea of living being cheap in Japan has become a myth. Many of the students who come to Japan suffer greatly on account of this high cost of living. Conservatively speaking, the living expenses only come up to between Yens 80 and 100 a month. The Hindusthani Association of Japan will furnish the necessary estimate of the minimum annual financial requirements of a student if necessary.

Another point to note is that the number of seats available for foreign students in any institution is limited and there will be unnecessary waste of time and energy if proper previous arrangements are not made for getting admission. The Hindusthani Association of Japan is prepared to give as much help as possible. Any Indian student wishing to come to Japan should write to the Secretary of the Association intimating what branch of science he wishes to study, his financial capacity, his educational qualifications and the period of his intended stay in Japan and his previous knowledge of Japanese language if any. On receipt of the above information the Hindusthani Association of Japan will make due inquiries whether there are any vacancies in the respective colleges and also make proper arrangements.

Any communication in this connection may be sent to the Secretary, Hindusthani Association of Japan, Post Box No. 1, Shibuya, Tokyo, Japan.

N.B. Ordinarily 150 Rupees=100 Yen.

Just at present about 165 Rupees=100 Yen.

Notes From Japan*

IV.

JAPAN CLAIMS DISCOVERY OF LEPROSY CURE

Dr. C. Takenouchi, a noted Japanese physician of Fukueka City, Southern Japan, claims to have discovered an effective remedy for leprosy. About 12 years ago, he began using the remedy which is today the basis of what he believes to be a cure for the most dreadful and baffling disease known to mankind. Some eight to nine hundred patients have passed through his hands, of whom seventy to eighty per cent have, to all clinical appearances, been cured. His remedy is said to be an extract of a herb indigenous to Japan. His treatment lasts for about a year, but patients treated for only a few weeks even show marked improvement, while in no case has any leper grown worse afflicted after leaving his hospital. Dr. Takenouchi is anxious to get into communication with physicians experimenting with leprosy cures and alleviatives abroad, particularly those at work in India in order to exchange experiences with them.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CREDIT ASSOCIATION FOR THE POOR

Some time ago the social service Bureau of the Osaka local Government established a credit association for the poor, with a capital of Yen 1,200,000 with 40,000 shares, of which 30,000 shares were contributed by wealthy residents of the place and ten thousand shares reserved for the poor people. The Association sends its canvassing officers to the poor people and asks them to deposit their surplus income in the Association. When one's amount of savings reaches

* *Standard Bearer*, Vol. III, No. 21 (23-1-23).

Yen 30, he becomes a shareholder, and thereby gets the advantage of borrowing money from the Association at a nominal rate of interest in case of necessity, provided it does not exceed the total amount of his savings. The result has proved very satisfactory and at present many day labourers have as many as four shares. Following the example of Osaka, the Tokyo local government has decided to start a similar association here. Besides, the Department of Home Affairs has set apart in the next Budget a sum of Yen 9,697,000 for various social enterprises having for their object the relief of the poor, such as the erection of tenement houses and the establishment of public markets, public baths, pawnshops, and cheap lodgings.

GERMAN AMBASSADOR OPTIMISTIC OF GERMANY

According to Dr. Wilhelm Solf, German Ambassador to Japan, who recently returned from Germany where he had gone on leave of absence, the present condition in Germany is not so black as it has often been painted by tourists and reporters. "The present condition in Germany is very optimistic", declared Dr. Solf, "Of course it is true that the Mark is rapidly depreciating, and the price of commodities are very high. But, because of this fact, wages are also high, so that labourers are comparatively well off. But the people who are suffering most in Germany to-day are those who get fixed salaries". He continued that Germany was rapidly recovering her lost industrial power, and that she would soon be competing with other European nations in the economic field.

REDUCTION OF ARMY AND NAVY PERSONNEL

Japan has begun in right earnest to carry out the policy of retrenchment in the Army and Navy departments, decided upon some time ago as a result of the agreement arrived at the Washington Disarmament Conference. In August last the first retrenchment was carried out and many Army

officers were retired, and the second phase of the reduction has just begun. 25,000 soldiers, 4,000 non-commissioned officers, 1,840 officers, 5,500 arsenal labourers, and 70 civilian officer employees are to be discharged during this month. The entire programme which is to be completed in 1925 calls for the discharge of 60,228 men and non-commissioned officers, 2,318 officers and about 5,000 arsenal labourers. In the Department of Navy, nine thousand men including 500 officers, 500 warrant officers and 8,000 non-commissioned officers and sailors were discharged on the 1st instant, and three thousand more will be discharged by the next year.

GANDHI, KEMAL AND MUSSOLINI

The *Osaka Mainichi*, the only English daily under Japanese management, writes thus : "Although poles apart from one another in their characters, Gandhi, Kemal and Mussolini belong to the same category of men, who have suddenly risen to fame and power in the post-war history of the modern world. Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Indian national independence movement, is now in prison on the charge of sedition, but he carries with him the whole nation of India. Kemal Pasha, the Turkish Napoleon, is holding the destiny of his country in the grip of his fingers. Signor Mussolini, the leader of the Fascist Party, is wielding such a power that, by the indefinite adjournment of Parliament, he has practically been made the dictator of Italy. By far the most significant personality among the three national heroes is Mahatma Gandhi, in the sense that he is not only a political leader, but a spiritual apostle, whose doctrine of non-resistance and non-violence the whole people of India are accepting like sheep following a shepherd. While the two other heroes have obtained power by means of force and military prowess, Indian hero, almost against his will, has done so by means of the spiritual force of his wonderful personality. At any rate the rise of these three leaders in their respective countries shows that the world is,

after all, a place where hero-worship never ceases to exist".

JAPAN MAY APPROACH MOSCOW FOR TRADE CONNECTIONS

Mr. Kawakami, Japanese Minister to Poland, accompanied by three subordinates, is now travelling through Russia under a special permit issued by the Moscow Government. This is the first time since the inauguration of the Red regime that a Japanese diplomat has undertaken a trip to Soviet Russia. Great importance is consequently attached to it and it is strongly rumoured that the object of his tour is to pave the way for the conclusion of a trade agreement.

JAPAN'S POLITICAL PARTIES PREPARING FOR FIGHTING

Now that the Political season has set in, for the 46th session of the Imperial Japanese Diet will be convened on 25th instant, political parties are preparing for the usual fray. There are at present three political parties here. The Seiyuki, the majority party, supports the present Cabinet although Premier Kato is a non-party man. The Kenseikai is the opposition party and its policy may be better described as a series of constant endeavour to bring about the downfall of the present ministry. The Kakushin club (formerly called Kokuminto) is a neutral party, supporting or opposing the government on the merits of the particular case. This party holds very liberal views and stands for universal manhood suffrage and the reduction of armament to the lowest possible limit. There are some women members of this party who are reported to be planning a great political agitation for women's suffrage and the leaders are said to have agreed to support them.

JAPAN TO ESTABLISH UNIVERSITY IN KOREA

The Japanese Government has decided to establish a University in Korea. One special feature of the University

will be that the majority of the professors will be Koreans who are now pursuing their studies in Japan in order to qualify themselves for their posts. The grounds for it have already been secured at a cost of Yen 200,000, and the preparatory course will be opened in 1924, when 160 students will be admitted to the three departments, viz. literature, law and medicine. Another plan for establishing a similar University in Formosa is also making good progress.

HEALTH PRESERVATION FOR NATION IS URGED

The members of the Committee on the Preservation of National Health recently submitted a memorandum to the Government calling among other things for the Promotion of physical exercise, the holding of public lectures on the preservation of national health, the publication of pamphlets and the distribution of posters, and the laying out of play grounds in important centres throughout the country. The action of the committee was the result of the failure of a physical exercise promotion bill to pass the Legislature last year.

ANTI-BRITISH MOVEMENT BY CHINESE CHUNKING

Indignant at the fact that Plenma, on the Indian frontier of China, was annexed unlawfully to British Burma, the Students Federation of Chungking, Szechuan, recently commenced anti-British demonstrations. The members of the federation obstructed a British steamer trying to land cargo at Chungking when a scuffle ensued between the British and the Chinese, and one of the students was escorted to a British commercial house. The rest of the students rushed toward the British house to rescue their comrade when they were kicked and fired upon by the Britishers. As a result of this incident, anti-British feeling is running high and a boycott has been declared against British goods.

EARTHQUAKE ROCKS SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN JAPAN

Nagasaki Prefecture in Southern Japan experienced a series of violent earthquakes lasting 32 minutes in the morning of the 8th instant. 30 persons were killed and scores injured. The movements were horizontal and this accounts for the heavy damage suffered by the people in life and property. The next day the eastern part of Hokkaido was severely shaken by earthquakes for several minutes. The quakes however were of less violence than the ones in Nagasaki and hence no serious damage was done.

A largely attended meeting under the auspices of four associations consisting of the students of the Tokyo Imperial, Waseda, Keio, and Nihon Universities was held at the local Y.M.C.A. hall with a view to impress upon the Japanese public and proclaim to the world at large the significant principle of "pan-Asianism". Besides many Japanese speaker, Mr. Rash Behari Bose and Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh spoke on India and Afghanistan respectively. Commenting on the meeting an influential Japanese daily says : It goes without saying that there exists a great need of realising more friendly co-operation and coordination among the Asiatic nations in order to enhance the prestige of the Asiatic peoples in the eyes of whole world. What is most needed at this time is the consciousness of the fact that we Asiatics have our own characteristic culture but none the less worthy of preservation and developing.

Bose's Further Letters & Messages to Indian Nation & Congress Leaders*

To Sirdar Vallabhai Patel

VENERABLE SARDARJI,

In pursuance of my policy to pay due respect to all those leaders who have been, and still are, devoting their body and soul to the cause of Indian Independence, and in whose able hands rests the future of the Indian nation, I, Rash Behari Bose, bow my head to you in salute, in the name of the Indians in East Asia. And when I do so, I am aware that I am bowing my head to the enviable combination of unerring political instinct, great organizing capacity and an aggressive way of thinking.

In the past you have given ample proof that you can combine in yourself all the above-mentioned qualities to a surprising degree. But, to-day times being critical, and our nation standing at one of the most important crossroads of history, you are called upon to apply those qualities to the best of your ability.

That the achievement of complete independence is the first step in the carrying out of India's national mission, everyone of us knows and realizes. But many of us do not seem to realize that in order to carry out the national mission India must grasp the present opportunity afforded by the outbreak of the war of Greater East Asia to achieve complete freedom. But I hope that you and your colleagues belong to that group which realizes the truth without my telling it.

Supposing England decides to transfer the portfolio of

* Further Letters and Messages of Bose appear on pages 159-179.

national defence to Indian hands, would India then accept England's invitation to fight on her side against her enemies? If she would, then it will be a case of her leaping from the frying pan into the fire. In that case if England loses the war—and there is no possibility of her winning it—India would simply have a change of masters, which would mean an ignominious end of her long fight for independence.

Japan and her allies harbour no ill will against India. But they have got to settle account with England until she goes down on her knees before them. By the simple dictates of war necessities, they cannot allow their sympathy toward India to prevent them from invading her territory, if India allows herself to be intrigued into England's war scheme, and India must therefore call a movement for complete severance of her ties with the British Empire. In that case. I can assure you that she would receive a different treatment at the hands of Japan and her allies. In the first place they would look at her with the eyes of a friendly nation. Secondly, they can create a situation in which we Indians, residing in large numbers abroad, may be able to render our fullest spiritual and material support to you for the success of your efforts to achieve complete and unconditional freedom. This would mean that they would leave Indians free to take their own measure to destroy British power and influence in India, and instead of invading the Indian territory would only render such aid in their fight for freedom as might be absolutely needed to make up for their drawbacks.

A great awakening is taking place at present among the large masses of Indians in East Asia. This time the situation is not what it was during the last world war. Not only that the vast British Empire is being rapidly dismembered, but Indians whether they be military or civil, have no heart in the cause of England, and all of them realize that the long awaited chance to deal a crushing blow to England and overthrow her rule from India is at hand. They have therefore decided to take all measures within their power to achieve

their national object, in co-operation with Japan. By this decision on their part you have only gained in fresh strength, in my opinion.

Now is the time for the last supreme effort on your part as well as on the part of us Indians abroad. Now is the time to assert in unmistakable terms our national birthright, that is, immediate, complete and unconditional independence. And therefore, now is the time when the eyes and minds of all the Indians from the four corners of the world, are directed toward the first concrete action you take for its achievement. Please give us the sign, and you will see that, from wherever we may be, we come running to your assistance.

Tokyo, 3-4-42.

Bande Mataram.

TO THE INDIAN NATION AND ITS LEADERS

For some time past I have been appealing to you to take stock of the surrounding world situation and strike for independence. My regard for you practically knows no bounds and I have a firm faith in you and your sound judgement. But, recently clouds of doubt and anxiety have begun to fill my mind, in connection with the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to India. From the very beginning I could not conceive his arrival in India except in connection with a malicious British plot. And I can say from watching the day-to-day development of his talks with the various leaders, that my instinct did not deceive me. Through this Britain is laying a skilfully prepared trap to drag India with her down. Whether India should fall into that trap or not, solely depends upon you. Yours is, therefore, an unprecedentedly great responsibility, and I beseech you to fulfil it with honour.

Before proceeding further, I like to lay three points for your consideration. In the first place I like to request you to remove all doubts, if you have any, as regards the nature of the present war. The present war is one being waged by Japan and her allies against the common enemy of humanity, in other words England. I need no proof to support me when I say that England is the enemy of all humanity. Anybody can open the pages of world's history covering the last century and a half and satisfy himself about the truth of my statement. Until recently England ruled practically the whole world with fraud, deceit, bribery and threats. In this war, therefore, England's part is that of a tyrant who is going to be overthrown. There is no justice on England's side in the present war, as there was none in any of the wars she fought in the past. Therefore to fight on the side of Britain is to fight on the side of injustice. Knowing this, will India still decide to fight on the side of England? Will she consent to fight on the side of injustice, tyranny and fraud?

The next point is to remove all doubts, if you have any, as regards the outcome of this war. England is going to be dismally defeated in this war. The hands of Nemesis are upon her, from which no amount of help from any nation can save her. It is the divine will that England should go down in defeat in the present war, and a new era in world history should begin. The long rule of injustice and tyranny under which the whole world has been groaning must come to an end and a new breath blown upon it. I do not mean to indulge in rhetorics. The signs of England's ultimate defeat are already on the horizon.

Whether in Asia or in Europe, whether on land or at sea or in the air, the show she is making of her military strength is enough for anyone to conclude that England is not militarily what she was. "No victory, but all defeats" can be the most appropriate description of her part in the present war. Cumulatively, all these defeats only signify

that she is now paying the penalty for all the sins she committed in the past against humanity. The outcome of the present war therefore, is clear. It is going to end in England's defeat and extinction as a world Empire. Therefore, any promise she makes now has no value. Why, then, waste you time in bargaining with her. Why not break off the negotiations right away? You cannot depend upon a dying person to keep his promise. And England is in the state of a dying person. Please know this and make your decision accordingly.

The third point on which to say a few words is that Japan and her allies wish well to India. But it is up to your decision whether or not to retain their goodwill. If you decide to side with England it would mean that you still prefer England's goodwill to that of Japan and her allies. In other words it would mean that you are bent upon incurring their enmity. Whatever would then happen, the blame for it would rest on you. It is up to you, either to prolong the period of slavery by changing masters or to obtain independence by accepting England's enemies as your friends. And you have no time to lose on this point. Japan is anxiously waiting for your decision this way or that. She cannot afford to lose time and allow England to consolidate her military position in India. Yet she is holding her hand and waiting for your decision. For she does not want to make unnecessary enemies of you through rashness.

Thus the situation before you is highly momentous. You are on the brink of a grave crisis. Please do not let your individual political convictions stand in the way of coming to the right decision. Please let only the happiness and welfare of the Indian masses guide your decision. Please do not, by joining England in her war against Japan, unnecessarily take the responsibility for plunging India into another period of bondage and misery.

Tokyo, 6-4-42.

Bande Mataram.

To The Leaders of India

Once more do I, Rash Behari Bose, appeal to you all, in the name of the Indians in East Asia, because I cannot afford to cease warning and appealing until the last die is cast.

I have been watching with anxiety the day-to-day developments in regard to Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to India, and I must admit that I do not feel relieved so far. True it is that the reports emanating from countries friendly to India, lead one to believe that Sir Stafford has not been able to achieve all what he had originally planned to. Yet, they also indicate that he has not yet met with total disappointment. And this fact causes me anxiety, however much I may try to persuade myself that this anxiety is unwarranted.

To me, I venture to say, it appears as if you are all still undecided over the outcome of the present war. There seems to lurk in some corner of your minds, the idea that whatever may happen in the beginning of the war, the vast resources of England and the United States will ultimately enable them to come out victorious. Naturally, you seem to regard that Britain and America still enjoy the same control over the financial and natural resources of the major portion of the world, which they did until a few years ago. And perhaps, it is this idea which seems to impel you to decide in favour of Anglo-Indian joint defence of India, if the portfolio of defence were transferred to Indian hands.

I do not know whether you are accurately posted with all the happenings that have taken place in the vicinity of India during recent months. Personally, however, I am inclined to believe that in the absence of news from neutral countries British propaganda must have been successful in

screening from you much of the real nature of the disasters that befell Britain and her allies in Eastern Asia. With a few brilliant strokes of strategy, backed by reckless valour, Japan broke the mainstay of Anglo-American military and naval might in East Asia at the very opening of the war. Four months have elapsed since the war broke out on December 8th. But in not one single naval engagement did victory attend the side of the Anglo-Saxons. Not a single combat ended in which England and her allies came out with success. Such reputedly invincible warships, as the "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse," were sent down to the bottom of the ocean, without apparently any effort on the part of the Japanese. On land also the same story holds true. There never was a battle in which the Japanese did not come out victorious.

You may not put your trust in all what I say. But nevertheless, it is true that the Japanese Navy and air force could not have been able to operate in the Indian ocean, if the British power in Malaya and the Dutch power in the East Indies were still intact. The Andamans could not have been occupied by the Japanese if the much advertised British naval base at Singapore were still in British hands and the Island of Sumatra still in the hands of the Dutch. Colombo could not have been shelled by the Japanese Navy, if the Union Jack were still fluttering over the waves of the Indian ocean.

What I mean to say is quite clear. For the defence of India from outside Britain depends most on her navy. She selected Singapore as the point of concentration of her naval power in the East. Therefore the defence of Singapore was for Britain tantamount to the defence of India. And by losing Singapore together with her naval power in the East, will Britain be able, in the near future, to recover her military and naval strength and also the territory she has lost so far? In other words, are there still chances of Britain's winning this war? You may perhaps say "Yes" seeing that Japan

possess no sources of raw material so necessary for the successful carrying out of modern war. It is natural that she must some day come to an end of her well-laid stocks and having no sources to buy them from, must ultimately sue for peace. Still you must remember that by losing Malaya and the East Indies to Japan, England and her allies have suffered an irreparable loss in so far as such important materials as tin and rubber are concerned, and in geometrical progression as England and her allies have become weaker by losing them, Japan has grown stronger by gaining them. Besides, by gaining control over the territories, Japan has come to obtain many other important materials such as oil, sugar, etc. for the supply of which she had to depend up to now on her present enemies. Already from the European continent England is unable to obtain anything which she formerly used to import from there. To-day she has lost all her resources of supply in East Asia. And, knowing well as you do, that for her very existence, England has to depend on imports from abroad, would you still insist that England must win the present war ?

I have tried to clarify the situation for you. Please do not accept the British proposal of joint defence of India, if the post of Defence Minister is entrusted to Indians, on the mere assumption that ultimately Britain will come out as winner in the present war. Because she is not going to.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo
9-4-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

TO THE LEADERSHIP OF INDIA

With immense gratitude in my heart, I, Rash Behari Bose, stand here on behalf of the Indians in East Asia to

congratulate you on your final decision not to have anything to do with Britain and her emissary, Cripps.

. By doing so, you have highly elevated yourselves in the eyes of the world. The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to India was part of a malicious British scheme to involve India in a war with which she has nothing to do. The scheme was so masterly in its subtlety, that the whole world—and especially we Indians abroad—felt anxious as to the fate of India. It was as if Indian leadership was being put to the greatest test before the bar of world opinion. And therefore, it is most gratifying to see you at this moment to have passed the test with honours. Surely, the fate of India is secure in your hands. India is, after all, going to be free. The path of glory has opened before her.

But, Britain will not let you have it all your way. Before we next hear about India, the wave of oppression will have started to delude India with her long-suffering masses. Of course, the story of oppression and repression is not new to you. Time and again you have gone through it all, only to emerge each time with a stronger will and renewed determination. Each time you faced the wave of oppression, it was to write just another glorious page of Indian history. Yours therefore, is an enviable lot, and how I wish I could share it with you.

But forced by circumstances as I am—and as all any compatriots in East Asia are—there is no other way left to us than to work for Indian Independence in our own way. We are in a position to cross weapons with Britain on the field of battle. But we must know, if there is even a remote way to know your intentions, before we decide to strike. We must have your sympathies and understanding if your efforts are to mean anything.

The recent bombings of Indian coastal towns and cities by the Japanese may prevent you from coming to a favourable decision. And I quite appreciate your position on that point. Still I feel convinced that you will not fail in this

second test also, by mistaking the tree for the wood. The Japanese must destroy the British enemy wherever he shows himself. If they are forced to enter India in pursuance of this policy, the blame for it is England's and not theirs. They would never attack India if the Indians themselves were able to drive the British, bag and baggage, out of India. Unfortunately, the Indians are unable to do that. And therefore the Japanese are forced to do it by the simple dictates of war necessity. Would you, in that case, receive them as India's friends or as her enemies? The result in case the Japanese are received as enemies is quite plain and needs no adumbration. But the result in case they are received as friends, holds in it the probability of independence for India. In any case, the amount of privations and sufferings of the masses would differ accordingly as the case may be.

May God this time make you feel all the more your responsibility for the happiness and welfare of the meek and dumb Indian masses, and may He guide you along the path to right decision!

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo
13-4-42

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

England's Foes—India's Friends

TO THE INDIAN NATION .

On behalf of the Indians in East Asia, I wish to convey to you our sense of relief at the news of the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps and his empty-handed departure from India. By refusing to entertain any of his proposals, your leaders have saved you from a danger the dimensions of which are hard to encompass. You have every right to be proud of such leaders.

But, your troubles and the responsibilities of your leaders are not over by overcoming just one crisis. Rather, for you as long as you are yoked to the British rule, based on racial injustice and irregularity, the crisis is a chronic one. You may be sure that in her failure British has already laid the foundation of another trap for you. Seeing that she could not induce you to accept her plans for the defence of her stronghold in India, Britain seems to have decided to be satisfied with sowing seeds of enmity between India on the one side, and Japan and her allies on the other. Malice cannot come out in the open in a more hideous form. "If you won't help me, still I'll be satisfied in seeing you destroyed any way". Such seems to be the wicked attitude adopted by Britain toward India. And, therefore, I wish to warn you not to be caught in any of her malicious designs.

Before his departure from India, Sir Stafford Cripps seems to have warned you of the consequences of refusing to co-operate with Britain in India's defence. He seems to have clearly warned you that India would be overrun by Japanese forces, and that, in that case, the responsibility would rest with the Indians themselves, and not with Britain. This, I wish to tell you, is a clever lie. Japan's Premier has already twice declared to the world that Japan's enmity is toward Britain, and not toward India. Japan wants to destroy British power and influence, but she does not wish to retard India's progress toward complete independence. She rather wants to accelerate that progress. She believes, and

she is right in her belief, that by destroying British power and influence, she can really accelerate the establishment of Indian independence.

That she is sincere in her belief and convictions, I am in a position to vouchsafe. There are thousand and one signs around me, all pointing toward one thing, which is that Japan holds the Indian nation as a class by itself. She has a great regard for India's culture, for India's great men, both ancient and modern, and she believes that with India, when she comes into her own, she can, and she must, co-operate for the sake of the revival of Asia's past glory and prosperity.

Either to make friends with Japan, or to make an enemy of her, entirely depends on you. If you make common cause with her and continue your fight against Britain, your goal, which is nothing but complete independence, is as good as achieved. But, if you unfortunately side with Britain, your traditional enemy, you will for ever lose all chances of becoming independent. Once more I repeat it here that Japan at present has no political or territorial ambition against India. But it is entirely up to you to force Japan to change her present attitude.

You are, therefore, facing a fresh and more severe test. And I hope that you do not fail in this, as you did not fail in the previous one. Finally, I like to entreat you to exert your utmost so that in the end you may have another opportunity to be proud of your leaders.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo
18-4-42

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS LEADERS

It is with profound gratitude and satisfaction that I learnt of your recent firm and unanimous decision to reject Cripps' offer of a new and disguised charter of slavery for India.

Your far-sighted and penetrating vision, determination and courage frustrated the wily British schemes to bargain for the contribution of India's vast man-power and resources for her imperialistic war in Asia, to still more strongly fasten the very chains with which she has bound down India for two centuries. In order to accomplish this objective, the Perfidious Albion sent you a man who was reputed to be your friend, and whose friendship that inveterate enemy of India, Mr. Winston Churchill, designed to utilize as an enticement to draw India into his trap. India was spared a fresh ignominy and shame, and new lease of bondage, because of your keen penetrating insight and your unswerving courageous leadership. Sir Stafford Cripps has gone back crest-fallen like a clever card-sharper who was caught in a performance of his trick. But Britain's wiles are inexhaustible and we may well expect yet subtler traps to be laid and still clever schemes to be hatched. Rumour says that Cripps may return to India this time as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. There is an ominous significance in this rumour and a dark foreboding. I see Mr. Churchill once again busy devising a new entanglement for India, by setting probably a more attractive bait. Whatever form British villainy may take, I have full confidence in your unerring judgement and wise leadership to prevent India from becoming a victim of British wiles.

Thanks to Japan's brilliant war strategy and super-human efforts, the British might in East Asia has been wiped out root and branch in the brief period of four months. The Indian Ocean has been swept clean of the remnants of the British Navy, and Britain has at last been forced to fall

back on Indian soil for her last and final struggle in Asia. No wonder that Britain is using all her wiles to get India to buttress her rapidly collapsing might. But the end of the British Empire is nearer at hand and nobody can save its fated end.

This much is certain ; but what part will India play to earn her freedom and her independence? *Freedom and independence are not something offered by one nation to another as a gift ; they are prizes to be won by the self-sacrifices and sufferings of a nation ; they are products of one's effort.* Will India at this fateful hour seize her own freedom and independence by one strong, united effort, or will she, through indecision and prevarication, let go this final chance for ever and resign herself to the lot of a subject nation? (*Italics are ours.*)

This is being asked the world over to-day, and in you the leaders of the Congress lies the answer to the question. Every moment is precious in this fateful hour, for this opportunity once lost is for ever gone. On behalf of the Indians living in East Asia, I beseech you to give us a sign of your decision, so that we may do whatever is expected of us in conjunction with your effort for the immediate realization of the freedom and independence of our Motherland.

It is therefore with deep anxiety that I await the decision of the All India Congress Committee, for upon its decision rests the manner and extent of co-operation that we Indians in East Asia can render in that great and final effort to see the Motherland freed from the British yoke.

I would like to remind the Congress leaders in this connection that the whole might of the Japanese Empire is there to back your endeavours, whatever they are ; and, in as much as Britain is Japan's and our common enemy, we can fully depend upon her great and powerful support in destroying British might and in asserting our right and self-determination.

Japan's great Premier has repeatedly pledged his co-

operation in India's efforts for complete freedom and you must therefore rest assured that this great sister nation in East Asia is always ready to come to your support.

The recent bombing of the British bases in India by Japanese naval and air forces were calculated to help strengthen your efforts and not to harm the Indian people. Japan is our best and strongest ally in the fight for our freedom, and you should not entertain any doubt whatever on this point, regardless of what Cripps or any other British agent might want you to believe.

On behalf of the Indians in East Asia, I express my full confidence in your great leadership at this hour of crisis and await your decisive and immediate action.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo
21-4-1942

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

To Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan

VENERABLE KHAN SHAHEB ABDUL GHAFFAR
KHAN,

When soldiers of freedom feel downcast by the weariness and pains of their long march, they need only to recall certain moments to revive their faith and conviction, and to march with renewed vigour and determination. For, there are such inspiring moments in history of freedom's battle whenever and wherever it was fought. For the Indians, one such moment is the date April 23, 1930.

On that memorable date, in the year of inception of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the last one started by the Indian National Congress, Indian nationalism repeatedly proved its mettle by undergoing a blood-bath. The name of Charsada, where 500 of your trusted but unarmed followers courted certain death by baring their chests to the bullets of heartless British soldiers, will forever remain famous in the annals of the Indian independence movement. And, let me assure you, that whenever the name of Charsada is mentioned, nationalist Indians will always bow their heads in silent salute to your personality and spirit, which alone acted as a motive behind the matchless examples of noble sacrifice that took place at Charsada. True Indians will never forget the examples of the unquestioning 500 heroes of Charsada. On their march to liberty, wherever darkness and despair try to overshadow their weary minds, the memory of Charsada is sure to rouse them to fresh activity, and fill them with fresh hopes. To your heart its memory must be the dearest of all. And I trust that you, more than any of us, realize the true meaning the Charsada incident holds for us Indians.

Must I need remind you that our duty toward the 500 departed heroes compels us to exert our utmost to free India from the British yoke—a goal for which they sacrificed their precious lives? Our sense of honour would not allow us to rest at ease until and unless we fulfil this sacred duty toward them.

History once more calls upon you with expectations at this moment. Please wake up to your mission and show us the way to make fresh history. Inspired by your towering personality, we are resolved to honour the Charsada heroes by giving birth to a series of other Charsadas until the achievement of complete independence makes it unnecessary to continue the process.

Come forward with your brave Pathans, Khan Saheb, and utilize this golden opportunity afforded us by the war of Greater East Asia, to lead India to complete independence.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo
23-4-42

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

“Action” is more important and more effective than
“Words”. The less you talk, the more energy you
conserve for action.

TO THE LEADERS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

In my previous messages to you, I repeatedly stressed, with all the earnestness I could command, the urgent need for India to extend full and whole-hearted co-operation to the enemies of British imperialism if India is to break the shackles that Britain has imposed upon her. I also urged with all the emphasis I could command, that the time for India to rise and shatter the British chains on India is here and now. I have also pointed out, and no doubt you are well aware, that there never was, and there never will be, a time so opportune as the present for India to exterminate the soul-destroying British domination against which we in India have struggled in vain for over a century and a half. Why then, is this delay in action, while precious moments of India's golden opportunity for emergence into freedom and glory are swiftly passing by?

India's sworn enemy, Mr. Churchill, and President Roosevelt, his abettor and accomplice in this war for the perpetual subjection of India, have unscrupulously flourished the slogan of Democracy to win India's support. In the

name of Democracy, Mr. Churchill wants India to be perpetually subjected to British tyranny and exploitation, and in the name of Democracy, Roosevelt, his accomplice, has condoned India's lot of perpetual subjugation by Britain. These two dark angels when they met together in the Atlantic last summer to decide the world order—or rather *their* world order—they had no hesitation in decreeing that India should remain for ever chained to the British yoke. Are there any Indians who are still deluded as to what these Anglo-American collaborators mean when they shout the slogan of Democracy in the face of India? Roosevelt showed himself in his true colours when he recently sent his special emissary, Colonel Louis Johnson, charged with the mission of influencing the Indian leaders to accept the British proposals. I was, indeed, gratified to learn that Pandit Nehru saw through these willy schemes of the American President, and promptly rejected the American intervention by declaring that “he had neither asked for North American mediation, nor for its guarantees”. This statement of Pandit Nehru has renewed our confidence in Panditji's policy of preventing India from going on the rocks of British Imperialism, being lured by the Syren voice from London and Washington.

Clearly enough, the Anglo-American wolves in sheep's clothing have consistently used this slogan of Democracy as their bait to get India into their clutches. They know India's weakness to this type of bait and they are waiting for India to fall into it sooner or later. Pandit Nehru's utterance in this connection, therefore, is a reassuring sign that Indian leadership is fully aware of this danger and determined to avoid it.

India is the master of its own destiny and will fashion for itself a system of Government most suited to its genius and its requirements. It is not the business of either Britain or America to dictate to India as to what type of political ideology she should have. A country which could boast of such inimitable system of Government as those that existed

under the reign of Asoka or Akbar need not be told as to what is best for it. Let India be liberated from the clutches of these pseudo-democracies, their hypocritical systems as their tyrannical oppression of weaker peoples, and India will set a new standard in world politics that will at once be the example and envy of the rest of the world, as Asoka's or Akbar's was at the time of their glory.

Leaders of the Indian National Congress, I beseech you most earnestly to sever these enslaving mental shackles that bind India with degrading standards set by the false Democracies of the West. Let it be yours to create and fashion a system of Government worthy of the great history and traditions of our country which lit the lamp of civilization in the East as well as in the West. Only when the oppressing clutches of the so-called Democracies on India are removed, will India be free and independent in the true sense of the term.

I entreat the Indian Congress Leaders, in the name of Indians in East Asia, to rise to this occasion and sever the shackles of British imperialism and all that it stands for and assert India's right to self-determination and complete independence.

The time is here and now.

Bande Mataram.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

Tokyo
24-4-42

India is the country of God.
Indians are the children of God.

TO PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND
MR. MOHAMED ALI JINNAH

I, Rash Behari Bose, on behalf of the Indians in East Asia, send you my greetings, on this occasion when our country stands at the cross-roads of freedom and glory on the one hand, and perpetual slavery to the British on the other.

GH

Panditji and Jinnah Sahib, in the hands of you both lies, in a large measure, the destiny of India of to-day and tomorrow. As heads of the Congress and the Muslim League respectively, you two have fought heroically against the oppression of British imperialism in India, and have unflinchingly led the Nation against insurmountable obstacles on the path of complete independence. To-day, thanks to the mighty efforts of the great sons of India, alive or dead, we are fortunate enough to have a glimpse of the first streaks of the dawn of independence over the Indian skies.

Great and powerful forces of the world have come to your aid, and your long struggle against British imperialism is about to bear fully its fruit. In East Asia, Japan, our sister nation, has come to your aid with her 100 million brave sons and daughters who have already wiped out British might in East Asia without a trace. Driven to desperation, and too weak to maintain her hold on India, Britain is bidding for your friendship by offering empty promises and futile hopes in her characteristic manner so familiar to you. When you, Panditji, on behalf of the Congress, and you, Jinnah Sahib, as head of the Muslim League, rejected the cunning offers brought to you recently by Cripps, I felt that India's war was half won. Now the arch-enemy of Indian freedom, Mr. Churchill, once again is racking his head thinking out new schemes to win your support. This time he has struck upon a very clear idea ; he wants you both to go to London. Once in London, he believes, you will be so much more directly within his sphere that he can try all the weapons in

his diplomatic armoury to win your support. In this Mr. Churchill is proving himself a poor judge of Indian leadership, as he has proved himself a poor judge of the Japanese marital spirit and prowess.

The solution of the Indian problem is in Indian hands, and not in Britain's. The freedom that shall crown India can be fashioned only by the sufferings and sacrifices of the millions of the sons and daughters of India, and not by the decree of the Anglo-Saxon tyrants. Not in England, but on the sacred soil of India, is that battle for the freedom of India to be fought and won. This plan to invite you to London is an obvious British machination to draw you away from the scene of action, where the last and decisive battle for Indian freedom is impending, and the millions of suffering masses wait with bated breath for you to lead them to that final goal of independence which is now well within sight. Let not British cajolery succeed in robbing you of your leadership from the midst of the Indian masses at this vital moment in Indian history. Others who have gone to London before you, have brought back nothing but signs of disappointment and regret and their example stands as a warning against further endeavours in that direction.

As I address this message to you, dismal news has come to us of a reported landing of American forces on Indian soil obviously with the intention of fastening more closely the British shackles to India. Can you have a clearer proof of the intentions of Mr. Roosevelt towards India? Let there be no mistaking the fact that underneath the soft touch of the gloves of democracy that Roosevelt wears there is the iron fist of tyranny and exploitation which is being slowly but surely brought down on India. The time for you to gauge the situation in its full force has at last come. British oppression itself had but well nigh killed the soul of India, but when it is a collaboration of British and American oppression any tyranny the wrong on India would be irreparable. I most earnestly warn you against the impending catastrophic

effect of Anglo-American collaboration in the wicked game of suppression of India and hope you will rise up to break it down before it is too late.

Dear Panditji and Jinnah Sahib, at this most critical period in our nation's history the suffering millions of India's sons wait and watch for a sign from you to march *en masse* to their freedom and independence. If you but join hands and bid the nation react out its hands for its own freedom, which is its birthright, as the great Tilak had said, India will be free that very moment. Then why waste further time on negotiations with the British intruders and their accomplices in Washington and elsewhere?

The Time Spirit is calling unto you both and looking at your faces for a sign. May that sign be not long delayed !

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo
28 4-42

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

Think of your Ancestors and
Descendants.

TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE

It is with a high sense of jubilation on my heart that I speak to-day to you, my fellow-countrymen in India, on behalf of your brothers and sisters in East Asia. One more disastrous and significant defeat has been suffered by our enemy, British—the common enemy of all Asiatic nations. Mandalay, that celebrated old capital of the former independent Burmese kingdom in Upper Burma, has been wrested from British hands by the mighty Japanese forces. Let India rejoice over these glad tidings. John Bull has been driven out of the sacred Buddhist City of King Mingdon, in Upper Burma.

Mandalay ! What sad thoughts that word awakens in our hearts, as we think of the silent suffering and mortification the great sons of India underwent within the walls of its prison ! The British tyrants had constructed a jail within the precincts of that sacred Buddhist city to incarcerate the brave sons of India who challenged the British rule. To us, Indians, Mandalay had become synonymous with a British prison-house, and a home of exile. It was within those grey, dismal walls of Mandalay prison that Lokamanya Tilak spent six long and precious years of his life. It was in the same prison that Lalajee, Sir Ajit Singh, Bepin Chandra Pal, Subhas Chandra Bose, and other great sons of India served their various terms of imprisonment at the hands of the British despots. Mandalay is a symbol of our national struggle against the British rulers—a symbol of our national martyrdom. With the Andamans and Mandalay wrested from the British hands by Japan, a sister Asiatic nation, the ignominy and shame flung on the noble sons of India by the British tyrants have been wiped out. The fateful day of reckoning for the wrongs inflicted by the British rulers has at last come.

With defeat after defeat inflicted on the British by the invincible Japanese forces on the entire Burma front, the British are fleeing into India, setting fire to everything in their path of retreat, in pursuance of their ignoble scorched-earth policy, depriving the poor Burmese people of all their earthly belongings. This reckless and cowardly enemy will soon make India its last stronghold, and there cause the innocent Indian masses to shed their blood for the safety and defence of its power in India. But Japan will pursue her enemy wherever he goes. Japan has sworn that the British must be wiped out from East Asia and nothing can stop her from achieving that end. But she has high respect and esteem for the Indian people and will not step on their soil, if the Indians themselves rise and destroy the British might in their own country. But if they fail to do their duty, Japan



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru shaking hand with Mr. Kuzu, the most trusted friend and colleague of
Rash Behari Basu, at the Indian Embassy at Tokyo, Mr. Tetsu Higuchi and others looking on.



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru shaking hands with Mrs. Tetsu Higuchi, daughter of Late Rash Behari Basu at the Indian Embassy at Tokyo. Shri Basu's intimate friend Mr. Kuzu is seen by the right side of Mrs. Higuchi and Mr. S. K. Mazumder is behind Shri Nehru.

will be compelled, though reluctantly, to pursue her enemy, Britain, even on the Indian soil, for no nation in Asia is safe and secure so long as British power dominates in India.

Therefore, my fellow countrymen, by my message to you to-day, upon receiving the glad tidings of the capture of Mandalay by the Japanese forces is—"Rise to your duty as Indians, and put an end to the evil British might in India, for the hour when India should prove her mettle has at last come."

I address this message specially to the youth of India. Let the youth of India find inspiration and example in the marvellous efforts the youth of Japan have evinced and are evincing to-day in the extensive battle-fronts extending from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean against the Anglo-American forces. These young men of Japan to-day by the thousands, and tens of thousands, are laying down their lives unstintingly on that wide battle-front upon which is being reared a new and powerful Asia. Here is a challenge to the youth of India, to build a new India upon the ashes of the British rule, an India every bit as great, powerful and mighty as when the Divine Buddha walked on the plains of India, bringing the light of a spiritual civilization to a benighted world, or when Asoka swayed his sceptre, and the light of whose wisdom swept to the four corners of the world, far beyond the bounds of India. Yes, this duty to restore India to its pristine glory and greatness rests on the shoulders of Young India. To them I address this message from the depths of my heart.

Remember, O Youth India, the message of Lokamanya Tilak—the message he discovered in the gloomy recesses of the Mandalay prison. That message is the age-old message of India—the message of *Karma Yoga*, which is epitomised in the words of Lord Krishna to the distressed Arjuna in the battlefield of Kurukshetra, the message which says "Rise, O Bharata, and gird thyself for the battle". Once again Lord Krishna is to-day addressing the Indian youth to rise and fight this enemy of the Bharata—the British.

O Indian youth, heed the message of the Lord of Yoga.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo
5-5-42

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

Freedom of India means the Freedom of the World
and Happiness of Mankind.

TO THE LEADERS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

I, Rash Behari Bose, on behalf of the Indians living in the various regions in East Asia, address you once again on this significant occasion when the Indian National Congress Committee has met in the most momentous session in its history, the outcome of which will largely influence the future destiny of our nation. Upon the decisions you take at this session will depend in no small measure the answer to the question whether India shall emerge out of this present world turmoil as a strong, united and truly independent nation to take her rightful place among the free and independent nation of Asia, or remain for ever subject to British or Anglo-Saxon domination and exploitation.

We are well aware, by the stand you took during the Cripps negotiations, that you firmly stand for the complete and unqualified independence of India from the British domination, and you will not yield a single iota on that issue. But the question that remains still unsolved is what positive measures or programme of action you will adopt, taking advantage of the world forces that have to your assistance. Unless these are decided and the nation led to its goal with the same determination and courage which were exhibited in resisting the enemy's wiles, the freedom of India cannot be won.

History lays the greatest and the most trying challenge upon the Indian leadership to-day. Will the Indian leaders rise and take up this challenge of the hour and give the signal for the final fight for independence, or will they yield to an imagined dread of failure and thus relinquish the final glory of leadership ?

Observing the world events that are taking place at an unimaginably rapid pace, from this vantage point in East Asia, I have seen with awe the Japanese leadership purging East Asia of even the last vestige of Anglo-American domination under which the peoples and nations in East Asia had been groaning for centuries. This mighty task was done in the brief span of four months, and now order and prosperity are being brought in an increasing measure day by day to those erstwhile British and American territories. Japan, by her brilliant efforts of the past few months, has finally dispelled the old ignoble challenge of the West that Asia is not fit to rule itself. Britain's rule in India is based on the same challenge, namely, that Indians are not fit to rule themselves and that British rule is an inevitable necessity for the Indians. India has not yet dispelled that challenge which Britain has flung on her for the past two centuries or more. The hour to take up that challenge and fling it back on the British has at last come and you cannot hesitate any longer. Japan was faced with the same challenge in East Asia by the Anglo-Saxon desperadoes, and Japan's leaders did not hesitate to take up the challenge, and their courage and determination stand as a shining example before you as you face the final issue that decides the fate of India. What Japan's leaders have done for the peoples in East Asia, you can and should do by whatever measures you think proper for the Indian people.

I earnestly warn the Indian leaders that the challenge to India's right of independence comes not only from Britain, but from the United States, her ally. The two are indivisible in this war and are working for the common end of the perpetual subjugation of the weaker peoples of Asia. The

backbone of British Imperialism to-day is the United States—I mean the Government of that country controlled by Mr. Roosevelt. I know that in the United States there are just and fair-minded people who unhesitatingly condemn the atrocities that Britain is perpetrating in India, and who firmly denounce this war of Mr. Roosevelt and his cronies, but the voice of these people is drowned and suppressed by the bloodthirsty Americans, whose records of inhuman racial discrimination, lynching and gangsterdom are well known to you. As British power dwindles down day by day in the seven oceans, Mr. Roosevelt is casting a covetous glance at those ill-gotten British possessions which he would inherit. The recent reported landing of Mr. Roosevelt's troops in India is a clear indication of what is in the American President's mind in regard to India's future.

Leaders of the Indian National Congress, I most solemnly draw your attention to the increasing strength of the joint Anglo-American schemes and machinations for the perpetual slavery of India, and urge you from the bottom of my heart to strike these forces down at this opportune moment when the great forces of history are on your side, favouring your every endeavour.

The challenge of the hour is to you, Indian Leaders ! May you justify your leadership by accepting the challenge and acquit yourself creditably for the posterity of India !

I pray that the Divine Mother may give you the strength and courage equal to the task.

Bande Mataram.

Tokyo,
10-5-42.

RASH BEHARI BOSE
Representative of Indians in
Greater East Asia.

**BANGKOK CONFERENCE:
FULLER DETAILS**

Bangkok Conference Details

RECEPTION COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

(For other details see Page 67)

Welcoming the delegates to the Bangkok Conference, Sri Deb Nath Das, Chairman, Reception Committee said :

It is a great honour for me to welcome you all to-day. While doing so on behalf of the Indian Independence Conference and your thousand comrades of Thailand, I wish to convey at the outset my heartfelt thanks to the peoples of Thailand and Japan who made it possible for all of us to meet and embrace each other, especially at this time when we need most. Words are poor carrier of the feelings of inner heart, but that being the only means to express on such occasions, I thank the authorities of Thailand and Japan for all the manifestation of their sincere feelings in helping us serve the cause we stand for.

While welcoming you, however, my mind goes to him—the one who, blessed with all the great heritage of Bharatavarsha, carried the message of her cultural supremacy into this land of the Yellow Robe. The confluence of his head and heart became the meeting place of the giver and the given. Swami Satyananda Puri who has lived with us, the one who is living in us, the one who has not cast the shadow of separation even on departure, the one who is gone farther only to come nearer, is no more with us! We feel lonely to-day and welcome you in his name—the name that spells truth and love. —

We are deprived also of the services of our respected compatriots, Giani Pritam Singh, Captain Akram Khan and Nilkhantha Ayer. To-day when we are assembled, let us

pay homage to those martyrs who have left us only to leave behind a great legacy of love for freedom.

Friends, the land of our birth, Hindusthan, is passing through a most crucial period in her history. The history of struggles for freedom that was confined in the prison walls has now spread all over and India's struggle for existence has now become the world's struggle. India, who was for a century and a half lulled into a dosing whale of humanity by an arrogant imperialism, born of greed and robbery, has now become a mother of a conscious mass. India's fateful hour has now struck as Deshbandhu Subhas Chandra Bose has told you, and every Indian must now make his decision—a decision that no power on earth can undo. The immense sacrifices that our compatriots at home have made for the last seventy years since India's first struggle for freedom in 1857 to lift India from the dark cell of degeneration, are now in the heart of our hearts. We bow our heads down to those—the torch-bearers of freedom, who created for us a field on which all of us stand and see light amidst surrounding darkness. When the rest of the world was still living in awe of the roaring British lion, the unarmed youths of India were shedding their blood and thus proving that, though India lost everything, she has not lost her soul. This is India's spirit, the spirit that knows no fear, the spirit that steel cannot subdue, neither can fire subjugate. To-day already a gigantic struggle for national emancipation is on in India. India, the fountain-head of all struggles of India's liberty and life, is definitely to-day at the parting of ways with Britain and those reactionary non-entities allied with it.

Friends, the awakening of India has a special significance to the world and a particular hope to humanity, since India is a country with a mission, a nation with a power to contribute to the cause of human welfare. In the conception of her nationalism when civilisation found its cradle on this quaint land, she has been led by one spirit—the spirit of contributing to the welfare of humanity.

It was this spirit, as Swamiji observed, which moulded her national life and brought perfection to her individual self. It was this spirit that in the days of our death-like slumber kept aglow, even in the darkest days of her life, the light of culture and civilisation, the glimmer of hope that one day she might stand erect before the world and raise with her unshaking hands the torch of truth and love she had lighted with the flame of her life. It is because of this spirit that the hands that were stretched to choke her to death succeeded only in rousing her to self-consciousness.

All Indian national organisations therefore, to be living organism, represent such creation, wide and integral, embracing in fact the whole scheme and scope of national life. The central principle of all our national struggles is physical transformation and to evolve collective body or entity—a nation within a nation, with a definite culture, education, religion and society, founded on that inner realisation, through a process of individual and collective purification so as to prepare a field of culture in the truth of unity, yet revealing every variety of India's self-expression and up-building a political and economic foundation, whose model is no exact prototype but the adoption of modern requirements of the ancient great principle native to the life and genius of India. An organisation to be an Indian organisation must be therefore a fountain-spring of *Sadhana* or in other words become a spontaneous flow of the Realisation, Resignation and Service. India is intent to enjoy freedom only within the larger freedom of the world. Who lives, to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, if India dies and who dies if India lives.

To-day we have to create this India. India may be a sub-continent, but with all her varieties, basically India is a single country. India may be compared with a garland. A garland is composed of so many flowers but all flowers are tied into one with a single string fastening them together. Take away one flower and it will lose its beauty. Such is India. And such are we when we embrace one another be-

fore we march with faith in Man and God to do our duty towards our Motherland. Let our service be complementary to those that are rendered by our comrades-in-arms at home. Let us die so that India lives.

Comrades, you have come from different places. Let us take ourselves as little rivulets as if springing up from different places only to break ourselves into a river—the river that will break itself finally into the mighty ocean of India's Liberty and Life. On this most auspicious occasion let us pray with a craving heart like the Poet, "Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high." Let us cry out with prophetic fire like the Poet. "The injustice you dread is far more coward than you. So shatter the shackles of this imaginary fear and rally round the Mother—Mother India." Out of this vision of Viswakavi Rabindranath and in the creation of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the world, has risen the spirit of Modern India on whose forehead slavery has not put its mark, neither has fear cast its shadow.

We, their children who meet to-day under the able guidance of Sree Rash Behari Bose, the pioneer of our movement for freedom in East Asia, must now make a decision,—a decision that will accelerate the creation of a Free, Happy and United India—an India which the Poet visualised and the Superman is creating. The burden is ours : we have to carry it. The success is assured once we put faith in India.

We are grateful to those who have been showering on us sympathy and encouragement, in helping us carry this burden. The spontaneous sympathy from far and near will ever remain as a treasure.

We thank every one of you.

Bande Mataram, Inqlab Zindabad, Azad Hind Zindabad !

NETAJI SUBHAS BOSE'S MESSAGE

Mr. Narulla then read the following message from Sri Subhas Chandra Bose to Mr. Debnath Das, Chairman of the Reception Committee :

I am delighted to have your message inviting me to your conference which is going to meet under the distinguished presidentship of the revolutionary leader, Rash Behari Bose. Since it is not possible for me to join you in person, I must content myself with sending you this message conveying my most cordial greetings. The branches of the Azad Hinder Sangh (Friends of India Society) in Europe also associate with me in sending this message.

After Stafford Cripps' departure from India, the last phase in our national struggle has begun. In this historic struggle all nationalists whether in India or outside must play their part. The experience I have gained during the last 18 months has convinced me that in our fight against British imperialism the Tripartite Powers are our best friends and allies outside India and I have no doubt that they will gladly render us such assistance as we may need. But the emancipation of India must be the work primarily of Indians themselves. We who are the vanguard of the national army have the sacred mission of leading the national struggle to a successful conclusion though I have clear and definite views in free India who must determine the future destiny of the country and of the Free Indian State.

My own objective study and observation in different parts of the world for 18 months have led me to the irresistible conclusion that Britain will lose this war and that the British Empire will be completely desmembered. All the forces that are striving to destroy or weaken the British Empire are helping India's emancipation, while all forces that are endeavouring to save the British Empire are attempting to perpetuate India's slavery.

It is a matter of profound gratification to all nationalists outside India that all nationalists inside India are united in the aim of India's independence. We, who form the vanguard of the national army, feel however that the time will soon come when it will be necessary to take up arms in the final stage of the struggle. And we also feel that since the British Empire is seeking help all over the world and is trying to flood India with foreign soldiers and foreign war materials, it is the right and duty of the Indian nationalists to accept any help that may be offered them. Given the right leadership and the necessary capacity, the Indian people will undoubtedly be able to overcome all obstacles and win their freedom. When the crucial moment arrives nobody will be able to prevent my entering India again with a view to participating in the final struggle.

I am convinced that during the course of this war India will be free. India's liberation will mean the expulsion of Anglo-American imperialism, the goal of the victorious Japanese Army. The freedom of India will also afford powerful stimulus to freedom movements all over the world.

I am glad to find that the branches of the Azad Hinder Sangh in Europe are doing their very best to participate in the national struggle and are preparing for the post-war reconstruction that will follow. It is now time to link up Indian nationalists all over the world in one all-embracing organisation. I wish all success to your Conference and I ardently hope and trust that it will prove to be a further mile-stone in our march towards victory.

In pursuance of the decision arrived at the Tokyo Conference to hold a larger and more representative assembly, Indian delegates from various parts of East Asia assembled at the Thai capital for a nine-day conference. The Silapakorn Theatre, Bangkok, was packed to overflowing. There was no standing room anywhere and even the spacious ground itself was packed to capacity, while the roads leading to it were crowded with people who were eager to get a

glimpse of the distinguished visitors. A large number of Japanese, Thai and representatives of the Axis countries were also present.

The following Indian delegates attended the conference:

From Japan : Messrs. Rash Behari Bose, A. M. Sahay, D. S. Deshpande, S. N. Sen, Rajah Sherman, V. Choklingam, J. K. Parekh, Ramsingh Rawal, B. D. Gupta, and V. S. Supanekar.

From Manchukuo : Mr. A. M. Nair.

From Hong Kong : (Civil) Messrs. D. M. Khan, P. A. Krishna, and H. M. Parwani. (Military) Major Hamim Khan, Capt. Mohd. Iqbal, Capt. Tara Singh, and Capt. Aya Singh.

From Burma : Messrs. L. B. Lathia, N. K. Bannerji, J. G. Buckle Balan, S. K. Chakravarty, T. G. Desai, C. P. Mehta, Mohamed Jaffer, Prof. E. Now, Mr. M. Randeri, Mohamed Yakoob Khan, Mr. E. P. Pillay, Mohamed Shaffee, Mr. Latchman Singh, Ahmad S. Ginala, Mohamed Sheriffkhan, Abdul Satar, and Sultan Mohammed.

From Borneo : Messrs. J. Lalchand, Kranal Singh, V. N. K. Pillai, K. K. Thangavelu Pillai, and Joginder Singh Greval.

From Java : Messrs. S. Haque, J. L. Gandhi, D. T. Assoomall, Yusaf Akbani, and Narain Das Chobarma.

From Malaya : (Civil) Messrs. N. Raghavan, M. P. K. Menon, S. N. Chopra, Dr. M. K. Lukshumeyah, Janab B. Mallal, Sardar Hardit Singh, Janab Amir Khan, Dr. D. K. Majumdar, Sardar Budh Singh, Messrs. S. Shanmugam, M. K. Ramachandram, P. M. Dalal, J. A. Thivy, Kundan Lall, P. N. Pillai, Janab H. H. Abdul Kader, Dr. Jagat Singh, Messrs. S. N. K. Nagappa Chettiar, B. K. Das, K. A. Narayan, L. Xavier, Dharam Singh, Mukum Singh, Kehar Singh, Sucha Singh and S. C. Goho. (Military) Capt. Mohan Singh, (Organiser, Indian National Army), Lt. Col. G. Q. Gillani, Lt. Col.

A. C. Chatterji, I.M.S., Lt. Col. A. D. Loganadan, I.M.S., Lt. Col. N. S. Gill, Major Prakash Chand, Major Aziz Ahmed, Major D. S. Raju, I.M.S., Major M. S. Dhillon, Capt. B. S. Pattanayak, I.M.S., Capt. S. M. Hussain, Capt. S. A. Mallik, Capt. A. D. Jehangir, Capt. I. J. Kiani, Capt. Habib-ur-Rahman, Capt. Burhan-ud-Din, Capt. Malik Fateh Khan, Capt. Dhian Singh, Capt. Alla Ditta, Capt. Gurmit Singh, Lt. Amar Singh, Lt. Mumtaz Khan, Lt. Babu Ram, Lt. Kishan Singh, Lt. Puran Singh, Capt. Ram Sarup, 2nd Lt. Rattam Singh, and 2nd Lt. Shiv Singh.

From Thailand : Messrs. Deb Nath Das, A. A. Rashid, Chuli Shah, L. P. Pandi, M. Sivaram, Sripat Rai, Lalita Misra, Maghar Singh, M. S. Ramsingh, Mr. Sevak T. Mehtani, Mrs. Laj S. Mehtani, Pandit Rajunath Shastri, Sardar Amar Singh, Sardar Iswar Singh, Maulvi Akbar Ali and Dr. P. R. Pillay.

From Shanghai : Messrs. Piara Singh, M. S. Doshi, B. Bobby, and Harnam Singh.

From Manila : Messrs. Daljit Singh, Mohan Singh, Atma Singh, Inder Singh, and Banta Singh.

From Indo-China : Mr. T. S. Subramanin.

In an atmosphere of great political awakening and purposefulness the Conference was opened on June 15, 1942, by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Nai Vichitr Vichitr-Vathakarn. The day's programme commenced with the singing of the Indian National Anthem, followed by silent prayer for the martyrs of the Indian Independence Movement.

OPENING ADDRESS

Opening the Conference, Nai Vichitr Vichitr-Vathakarn addressed the gathering as follows :—

“Gentlemen of the Delegation, I am glad to have the honour of opening this Conference. In performing this

pleasant duty, I bring to you a message from His Excellency the Prime Minister of Thailand (Field-Marshal P. Pibul Songgram), which I shall now read to you :— ,

In the name of the Thai people, I have much pleasure in welcoming this Conference of Indian Delegates which has been arranged to take place here in Bangkok. My pleasure in welcoming the conference being held in the capital of Thailand is due to two causes :

Firstly, the aim of this conference is to rid India of the yoke of tyranny and oppression under which she has been for long suffering and to restore to India her liberty, so that India may rightly be a country for Indians. Since Thailand has been from time immemorial a land of the free, liberty is deeply rooted in the hearts of the Thai people who cherish their independence more than their very life. The Thais, therefore, sympathise with and support all fellow-men, whatever their race, who are striving to attain independence for their motherland. When I learnt that the aim of this Conference was to establish the independence of India, I gave it my whole-hearted support.

Secondly, Thais and Indians are deeply bound together in cultural ties. We, Thais, received the doctrines of Buddhism and our knowledge of Arts and Science from India. Even the words we use in our daily speech and our writings are, many of them, derived from India. During the period that India had to contend with foreign aggression and fell under the domination of a race alien in language and in culture, resulting in Indian culture being deprived of support and maintenance which in time brought on a gradual decay, Thailand undertook the duty of safeguarding Indian culture.

If you visit our National Museum, you will find that we have preserved ancient relics and objects of art from India in a better way and in greater numbers than those which are to be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Indians who have come to reside in Thailand have been received all

along in a cordial spirit of friendship by the Thais. Thailand herself has taken up the study of Pali and Sanskrit, which are highly prized in Indian culture, to a greater extent than any other country in the world. I therefore safely say that Thais and Indians are bound together in culture in the closest of ties.

For the two reasons stated above, I am happy therefore to have the opportunity of extending my welcome to the conference for the liberation of India at this capital of Bangkok. In sending my message for the opening of this conference, I cannot refrain from expressing my respect for Swami Satyanandapuri, who was one of the prominent figures sharing in the great work of co-ordinating the cultural and spiritual relations between our two nations. I am unable to find words sufficiently appropriate to express my sorrow and sense of loss at his death. I am convinced that his pure soul will come and be present amongst you at this conference and will help the conference achieve success in a satisfactory manner.

Gentlemen, now is an auspicious occasion in which all the Asiatic peoples may collaborate as one in the task of doing away with all the hardships we have suffered from the oppressive rule of alien races. Japan has taken the lead for the liberation of Asia. It is therefore an opportunity for all the Asiatic peoples to unite their strength and hearts with Japan for the accomplishment of this important task. As India is the mother country of Religion, Culture, Arts, and Science, as she has been the world's teacher from olden times, the light of India's soul has therefore never been extinguished, but will henceforth shine gloriously brighter, fanned by the unity, endeavour and perseverance of all of us.

I therefore pray the protecting grace of the Triple Gems and all the sacred powers of the Indian delegates assembled here, so that you all be endowed with good health, united in spirit and strong in wisdom in order to carry out the work of this conference to the desired successful conclusion for



**Japan delegates to Bangkok Conference Sitting left to right :— Nair, Sahay, R B. Basu, Deshpande
Standing left to right — Vinayak, Rawal, Gupta, Parekh, S. N. Sengupta.**
(Courtesy — S N Gupta)

the freedom and happiness of India and of all the Asiatic peoples."

In addition to this message from His Excellency the Prime Minister which I have just read to you, I wish to add an expression of my own sincere hope for the smooth progress of this conference and its final conclusion with the desired success. The auspicious moment has arrived. I have much pleasure, gentlemen, in declaring the conference open.

The message of the Thai Premier was translated into English by a lady announcer of the Thai Broadcasting Station and into Hindustani by Mr. Narulla of the Bangkok League Committee.

MESSAGES

Mr. Koh Ishii then read the following telegraphic messages of congratulations from the Japanese Premier Gen. Hideki Tojo and from the Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo :

The following is a congratulatory message from General Hideki Tojo, the Prime Minister of Japan, to the Bangkok Conference :

It is with the greatest of pleasure that I send you my heartiest congratulations on the occasion of the convention of the Indian Independence Conference in Thailand, our ally, on the initiative of the leaders of the 2 million Indians living in East Asia to create a new epoch in the movement for Indian independence.

Since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War more than half a year has elapsed. During this period the British defences in Asia for the placating of India have practically been wiped out by the gallant Imperial forces and a golden opportunity to realize the long-cherished aspiration of Indian independence has come.

At this juncture if the leaders of the two million Indians in East Asia in calling this conference respond to Japan's true desire for the Indians to create India for the Indians,

Japan is quite prepared to give the unstinted support as it has been announced from time to time, and I might add that the Axis Powers are ready to co-operate in according their full support.

Britain, which is meeting with defeats in Asia, Europe, Africa and in all theatres of war, is facing an extremely miserable state of affairs which she brought on herself by her own misdoings. She is now demanding great sacrifices of India through her usual crafty way of threat and supplication. However, the far-sighted and able patriotic Indian leaders, wisely realizing the heavenly bestowed destiny of India, and fully cognizant of the world affairs, are determinedly resisting Britain, a fact for which I want to express my deepest respect. Though the construction of India for the Indians constitutes my most sincere desire, India still remains a British territory, and military establishments as well as military forces are being daily strengthened. Japan is firmly determined decisively to destroy Britain and she will be compelled to take action so long as British military strength remains in India.

In order to rescue India from war disaster it is necessary that Britain should give up her ambitions in India or India herself must sever her relations with Britain on her own initiative. Fortunately, as I believe the present conference represents the general public opinion of the Indian people of the East, I pledge that Japan is fully prepared to support their independence movement.

In congratulating most earnestly upon the success of the present conference I hope sincerely that the Indian people will fully understand Japan's true intentions and, with the people both inside and outside India working in close co-operation, achieve their cherished hope of independence.

Congratulatory message from Mr. Shigenori Togo, Foreign Minister of Japan, to the Bangkok Conference :

I have pleasure to express my sincere respects for the patriotic ardour of the Indian leaders representing the

Indians in the Greater East Asia, on this occasion of the Indian Independence Conference. As is known to the Indian people, the British domination over India, from its beginning, was due to the unimaginable false and crafty policy of alienation and also at the same time to the British military strength in India.

However, the military bases in East Asia have completely been swept away and England's fate is now hanging in the balance. Under such circumstances, Britain is now resorting to desperate all-out methods such as propaganda in which she is maliciously alleging that Japan, Germany or Italy have certain ambitions in India and deceitful proposals concerning the revision of Indian administration in an attempt to win over the Indian people to enlist them in the defence of the British Empire. There is no other time than the present when the Indians must be on guard against British machination.

Japan has no desire whatever toward India except to see her realize the restoration of freedom and has the firm determination to destroy British and America as has been announced previously by Japan. The Indian people who are now faced with the golden opportunity should discard trifles and devote themselves to greater moral principle. They should endeavour internally to unify the general public opinion and externally co-operate with Japan, Germany and Italy to destroy British Imperialism to bring about the realization of aspiration of Indians.

As the result of the conference I firmly believe that the independence movement will be put under a unified control, thus to enhance the early achievement of the independence, for which I want to express my sincere congratulations.

OTHER ADDRESSES

Then followed the speeches of Mr. T. Tsubokami, the Japanese Ambassador in Thailand, Dr. E. Wendler, the

German Minister, and Signor Guido Crolla, the Italian Minister in Bangkok :

I feel it a great honour to have the opportunity to be present at this historic Indian Independence Conference that has just been opened, said Mr. Tsubokami.

The independence of India has been the long-cherished aspiration of the Indian people ; its freedom has long been nourished by the three hundred fifty million Indians. As a member of the Asiatic races we Japanese have also ardently desired the realization of the hope of India for Indians.

It is a matter of congratulation that the time has become ripe for Indian independence and its signal fire is now about to be lighted in a corner in East Asia. That this conference is being held in the capital city of Thailand, the people of which enjoy the greatest understanding of Japan, cannot be said to be coincidental. The Indian leaders who have assembled here from all parts of Asia are patriots who have endured the harsh sufferings of imprisonments, of having been obliged to seek refuge in foreign lands and of exerting themselves through long years of hardship with unabating hope for the noble cause of seeing their country become free. Their efforts have not been in vain and at this conference the dawn of their aspiration is now about to be realised. I can see quite well how great must be their joy and satisfaction. We Japanese who, as comrades in your struggle against the British injustice for the liberation of the peoples of the East, obviously cannot be disinterested in this very great and significant enterprise.

The results achieved by the Imperial Japanese forces on land and sea and in the air for the last six months since the outbreak of Greater East Asia War, have been unprecedented in the world's history of war. Hongkong, Singapore and Rangoon, supplemented by Manila and Netherland East Indies, were a series of fortifications for the preservation of the security of Britain and at the same time the bulwark to defend India.

As India was Britain's lifeline, it was indispensable that she should have constructed these series of double and treble re-inforced impregnable lines for fortifications in Asia to defend her lifeline. However, these groups of fortifications have helplessly succumbed before the irresistible Japanese forces.

Moreover, the British fleet in the Indian Ocean has been speedily annihilated and the Japanese navy is now carrying out operations in even the extreme south of Africa. The mastery of the Indian Ocean is no longer in the hands of the British navy, and thus the defence of India which Britain had built at great effort through long years has completely vanished. India has now virtually become a defenceless 'island of seclusion'.

Concerning the present India we see two significant factors, namely : firstly, Britain cannot any longer enlist the wealth of India for its economic and military needs ; and secondly, as the yoke of Britain over India has been broken, the chance of the independence of India has become imminent. In other words, the fall of the British Empire signifies the realization of the independence of India. Under such circumstances this Indian Independence Conference has emerged. Its purpose is identical with one of the objectives of the Greater East Asia War, which is to liberate India from Britain.

In this connection one thing must be made clear and that is that Japan, Germany and Italy in relation to the Indian problem have had the closest understanding and co-operation from the beginning to the end. These three nations, following the conclusion of the tripartite treaty, have been and are standing arm in arm to destroy Britain, their common enemy. That the three nations, since the beginning of the war, have mutually been carrying out their tasks in crushing the Anglo-Saxon forces amply demonstrate how completely the tripartite treaty is being carried out. If we are to assume that the independence of India means the overthrow of Britain,

it is clear that the three nations have been and are working in perfect agreement. That the three nations do not have any ambition toward India also demonstrate that there will be no conflict of interests among these three nations.

Britain and America who are no longer able to defend India are now resorting to propaganda to cause dissension among the Axis Powers, but unless the later happen to be exceptionally stupid, there is little hope that they will fall victims to such childish propaganda. It is our intention to have made it clear for the Indian brethren that they will even be backed up by the joint strong support of Japan, Germany and Italy.

India is now being blessed with a heaven-sent opportunity. Hence, if she should lose this opportunity she cannot hope for another such chance for independence. The eyes and ears of the whole world, including the three hundred fifty million Indians, are now focussed on the development of this conference. As you reflect on this fact you must no doubt realize that every word you say and everything you do carry with them tremendous responsibilities. Generally speaking, in order to accomplish great things it is necessary to discard trifles and unite in the execution of the general objectives. The cause of Japan's epochal achievements rests on just this principle and on the spirit of her national unity.

Now is not a time for argument but a time for action. India's independence can be achieved through the united action of the entire Indian nation. I believe that the success or failure of the conference rests solely on your spirit of co-operation.

Sharing in your faith I pray from the bottom of my heart for the success of the conference.

It is especially gratifying to me as German Minister in Bangkok, stated Dr. Wendler, to be able to accept the invitation to attend the opening session of his Conference at which prominent representatives of the Indian people will

deliberate as to the means to shape and safeguard the future of India in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people.

I need hardly emphasise that Germany too takes a lively interest in these questions as was also stressed a short time ago by the fact that the German Chancellor received at his headquarters the well-known champion of the Indian Independence idea, Subhas Chandra Bose. The world war raging to-day will spell the end of the dominion of the British and Americans who have ever subjugated and used for their own purposes the peoples in their power.

The nations allied to each other by the Tripartite Pact, Germany, Italy and Japan, will see to a just New Order, terminating Anglo-American tutelage over the rest of the world. Thus also the possibility arises for the Indian people, after nearly two centuries of subjugation by the British, a subjugation which has cost India so much misery and suffering, to shape the future destiny of their country according to their will.

The German people have shown the greatest sympathy towards the people of India. The outstanding cultural achievements of India during the course of her long history dating back thousands of years, have always been the source of special interest in Germany. Germany was also the first country in Europe in which the great values in the spheres of Indian philosophy and poetry were fully realised notwithstanding the titanic struggle in which they find themselves involved. Even at the present time the Germans follow with much sympathy the significant happenings in India and, together with the peoples of Italy and Japan, show the greatest interest in the fight for freedom of the Indian people.

The Great Powers of the Tripartite Pact are all the more in a position to raise their voices as sincere friends of the Indian people since they have no territorial interests whatsoever in India. They have but one desire : that India and her people, in free self-determination, should be heading for a better future and develop to a level corresponding with

the riches of the Indian soil and the great gifts of its inhabitants.

It is indeed a source of deep gratification for me, stated Signer Guidó Crolla, the Italian Minister in Bangkok, to attend the opening session of this Conference which, thanks to Thailand's hospitality, gathers here to-day the representatives of the various Indian Movements in the Far East. The bonds between India and Italy date far back in history. They were existing even before the Roman Empire, which was a great attempt of unifying western and eastern cultures. In the Middle Ages the daring exploits of an Italian, Marco Polo, brought the two worlds closer again, while the Republics of Venice and Genoa were intensifying their trade with India through the Mediterranean. In more recent times Indian culture found and still finds in Italy many scholars and admirers and the Italian youth is taught in schools how to appreciate the contribution given by India to the history of humanity. The Italian people who have for so long struggled hard to recover their unity and independence cannot but feel sympathy and understanding towards the sufferings and aspirations of the Indian people.

Italy's interest in the cause of Indian independence is deeply rooted in the past. Indian exiles have always found in Italy a most cordial welcome and hospitality. This particular sympathy, which is spontaneous, lively and disinterested, has recently found expression in the institution of a society in Rome called 'The Friends of India', where the Indian patriots of undaunted faith and sincerity, such as Iqbal Schadai, are working for the cause of Indian liberty followed by the friendly and unanimous encouragement of the Italian public opinion. 'The Friends of India' wish to create as closer connections as possible between cognate associations existing in Germany, Japan and Thailand with a view to attaining the final aim through a better and greater co-ordination of their respective efforts. The enduring passion of the Indian people is approaching its decisive moment.

The war which the Tripartite Powers are victoriously waging against India's secular oppressor is destined to create a new order in contrast with the old one ruled by Anglo-Saxon selfishness and abuse. Within the framework of such a New Order the Indian people, after having shaken the British yoke, shall, as a free Nation, find the place which their high civil and cultural traditions entitle them to. Italy, Germany and Japan have no territorial ambitions in India. Their support is therefore all the more disinterested and their friendship all the more sincere.

The representatives of Free India gathered in Bangkok to-day are confronted with the highly responsible task of shaping the future destiny of their own country in accordance with the wishes and the interests of the Indian people. In unison with Germany and Japan, Italy is wishing this Conference the best success.

PROCLAMATION OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF FREE INDIA

The following Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Free India was read in Hindustani by Mr. A. N. Sahay, in Tamil by Mr. Chidambaram and in English by Netaji himself :

After their first defeat in the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one-hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And, in the pages of that history, the names of Sirajuddoula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab and, last but not least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana

Sahib—among others—the names of all these warriors are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not therefore put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move—and under the flag of Bahadur Shah, in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

BIRTH OF THE CONGRESS

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while—but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the last World War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods—namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally, armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately, in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

For two decades thereafter, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the

remotest villages, the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus, on the eve of the present World War, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation. During the course of this War, Germany, with the help of her Allies, has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe—while Nippon with the help of her Allies has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances, the Indian people to-day have a wonderful opportunity for achieving the national emancipation.

AWAKENING AMONG INDIANS ABROAD

For the first time in recent history, Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home, but are also marching in step with them along the path to Freedom. In East Asia, in particular, over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx, inspired by the slogan of "Total Mobilisation". And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan "Onward to Delhi", on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's

Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army, and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad, but relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberations is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed, it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the ægis of that Government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of *Azad Hind* (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for Freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the *Azad Hind Fauj* or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind* by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her freedom, of her welfare, and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

TASK OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Govern-

ment to bring about the establishment of a Permanent National Government of *Azad Hind* constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a permanent National Government of *Azad Hind* is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past.

TRADITION OF HEROISM AND SELF-SACRIFICE

In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and strike for India's Freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory—until the enemy is expelled from the Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government of
Azad Hind by

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (Head of the State, Prime
Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs);
Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi (Women's Organisation);

S. A. Syer (Publicity and Propaganda) ;
Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterji (Finance) ;
Lt.-Col. Aziz Ahmed, Lt.-Col. N. S. Bhagat, Lt.-Col. J.
K. Bhonsle, Lt.-Col. Gulzara Singh, Lt.-Col. M. Z.
Kiani, Lt.-Col. A. D. Loganandan, Lt.-Col. Ehasan
Qadir, Lt.-Col. Shah Nawaz (Representatives of the
Armed Forces) ;
A. M. Sahay, Secretary (with ministerial rank) ;
Rash Behari Bose (Supreme Adviser) ;
Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellappa,
J. Thivy, Sardar Ishar Singh (Advisers) ;
A. N. Sarkar (Legal Adviser).

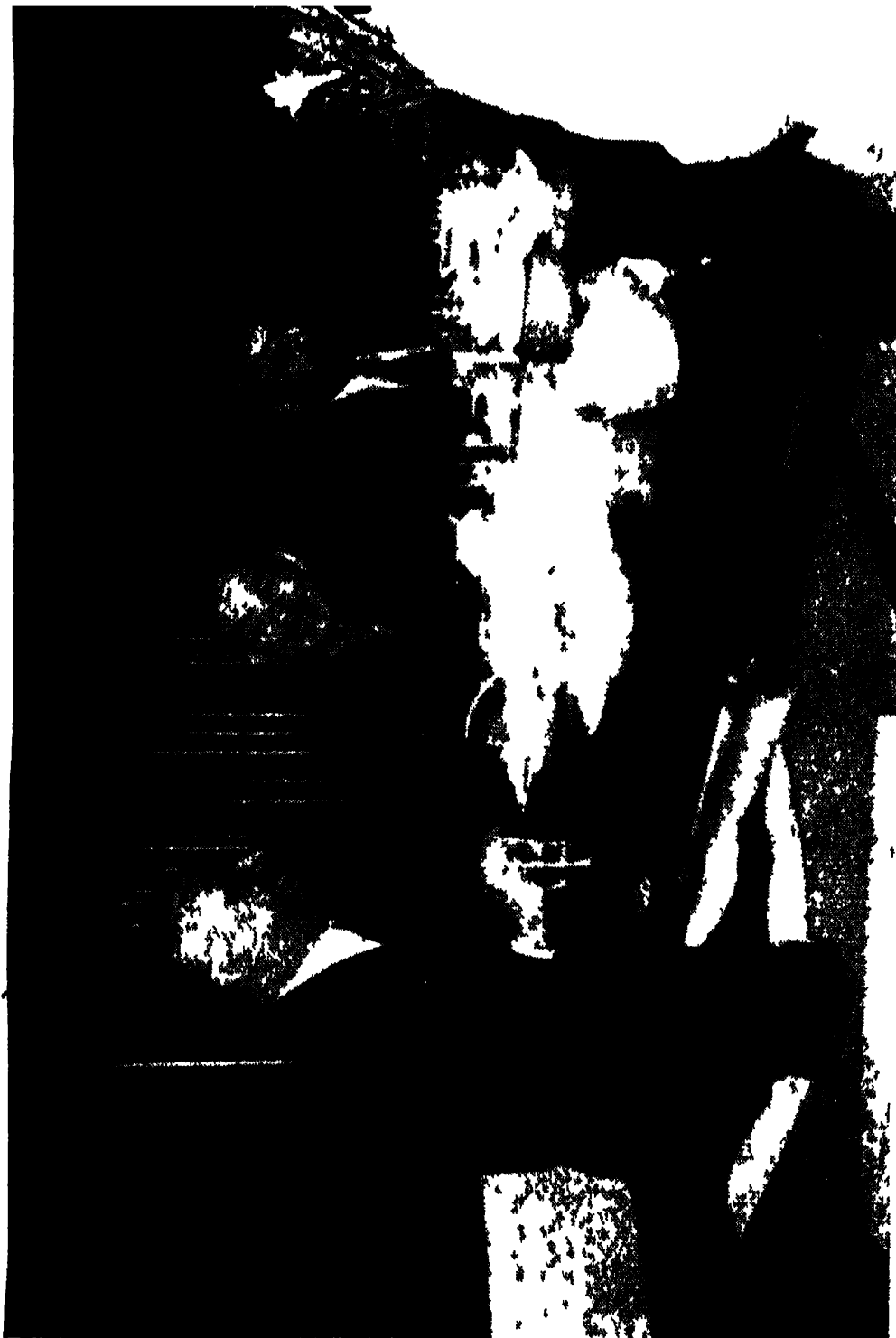
Syonan, Oct. 21, 2603.

(Owing to belated receipt, the above fuller report could not be included along with the previous report of the Presidential Address and Resolutions adopted at the Bangkok Conference and published on page 67).

**APPRECIATIONS BY EMINENT
PERSONAGES**



A meeting of the Indian Independence League at Tokyo held on 11th Sept. 1938. Shri Rash Behari Basu is seen in white dress. Mr. Siratoki is sitting by his right side—attended on invitation.



Shri Rash Behari Basu with General Matsui (centre) and Mr Nath at a private sitting
at NAKAMURAYA on the 19th June 1938

RASH BEHARI BOSE AS I KNEW HIM

By Nedyam Raghavan

It was in April 1936 that I first met Rashbehari Bose. My wife and I were on a pleasure trip to Japan and were in Tokyo. Friends from Kobe had written to him of our arrival and he did the honour of calling on us. Of course, I had heard of him even before. Who had not? Even during our first meeting, while engaged in animated conversation regarding various things to see, and places to visit, in beautiful Nippon, he suddenly stopped, I remember, became pensive, and asked me what I was doing for Indian freedom. I tried to narrate to him what shape India's fight for freedom under Mahatma Gandhi had been taking and what contribution India was trying to make. Of course, he knew all about it, as he was following events at home rather closely. He said that that was not what he meant, and even though he knew every Indian had a role to play in India's fight for freedom, he wished to know whether I was doing anything particularly. I was at that time in Malaya, and I told him of what we were trying to do from there in our limited sphere.

That was my first contact with Bose. I did not know whether my answers satisfied him. Whatever he thought of them, or of me, I felt I had come across an Indian to whom Indian Freedom was of paramount importance in this world. He invited me to his home and we had some talks before I left Tokyo, but since my deep and abiding convictions were of the Congress persuasion and his appeared to be of a different type, we could not have made much impression on each other at that time regarding the nature of our work, even though the goal was the same.

Since then, till we met again in 1942, we had no contacts or correspondence. Japan had by then entered the War and in a lightning campaign taken over the whole of South-East Asia. We discovered some signs amongst the conquerors, of active sympathy towards a "Free India" move-

ment. Some of them felt that out of the morass of the World War, India would once again emerge free, and just as Christendom fought once against the Saracens for the liberation of the Christian Holy Places, it would be a great privilege for Japan to play a part in the liberation of the Holy Land of Lord Buddha. But then, the Japanese Army had a past. Its record in China had not been what freedom-loving nations of Asia had expected of it. Would it be anything different towards India? That fear gnawed our souls and ate, as it were, into our vitals. It was in March 1942 that I found myself again in Japan, this time as the leader of an Indian Delegation from Malaya, ostensibly to attend a conference but in reality seeking to know more about our friends and find out the motives behind their actively friendly attitude towards the Indian National Army—whether they were prompted by selfishness, magnanimity, or both; whether in the Japanese support to India any altruism entered at all. If not, what exactly were Japanese intentions?

Dr. Rashbehari Bose, as President of the Japan-Indian Association had convened an Indian conference at Tokyo. There were many Indians from different countries of East and South-East Asia attending it. Most of them were hand-picked, or were brought by the Japanese at the instance of Bose. The team that I was leading consisted of civilian leaders of Malaya like K. P. Kesava Menon (later our High Commissioner in Ceylon and now the Editor of *Mathru Bhumi*), Sirish Chandra Goho (the well-known Singapore lawyer who passed away in 1948) and K. A. Neelakanta Ayer (who gave up his life for his country in an air crash on the way), and military leaders of the Indian National Army like its then Commander, Capt. Mohan Singh and Col. N. S. Gill (at present Ambassador at Addis Ababa). Dr. Rashbehari Bose and three of his young assistants, Deshpande, Nair and Lingham, received us. Looking back, I must say that almost from the start we were hardly fair to those whom

we styled the "Tokyo Indians". Perhaps most of us found it easy to regard them, if not as stooges of Japanese imperialism, at least as tools of militarist Japan by virtue of their situation, if not anything else. Rashbehari Babu himself had been in exile for a quarter of a century and enjoyed Japanese hospitality and protection during that period. He was married in Japan, and seemed, for all practical purposes, to have taken roots in the country. The others had more or less the same or similar kind of connections. Could they divest themselves, if need be, of loyalties to the land of their adoption, if they conflicted with loyalties to the land of their motherland? We feared divided loyalties might lead them to paths inconsistent with Indian interests. It was therefore not surprising to see us doubting every move of theirs.

The Conference started in the gloomy atmosphere caused by the loss of our valued colleagues and patriots who would have contributed greatly towards the cause of India in any deliberations on Indian freedom. We looked with unwarranted suspicion on almost every plan and programme, proposed by our hosts, the Tokyo Indian Association or its distinguished President, Dr. Rashbehari Bose himself. Shri Deshpande, his able assistant, who acted, if I remember rightly, as Secretary of the Conference, tried every time to convince us of the advantages of some of the Tokyo proposals but we were in no mood to listen. Incidentally, let me take this opportunity to pay my homage to the memory of a young Indian who tried to serve his motherland in his own unostentatious manner. It was not long before my prejudice regarding Deshpande (Pande, as he came to be known later) melted away, and I recognised in him an ardent patriot who, with all his residence and extra-territorial affiliations abroad, loved his motherland dearly and wished to serve her to the best of his ability. His death at sea, nearly two years later as a result of his ship being torpedoed while on a voyage between Japan and Malaya, was indeed a great shock to all of us.

Though the Tokyo Indian Conference of 1942 lasted only a few days, we were in Japan for a longer time during which period I came into almost daily contact with Rashbehari. He was of course the moving spirit of the Conference; but it was in the days that followed that we came to know each other better. Though, because of our doubts and fears we had not given the necessary support to any plan under which the Indian Independence League of Tokyo would expand, or take upon itself the leadership of an Indian Independence Movement in East and South-East Asia, the principle of organising Indian Independence League on a regional basis had been agreed upon. For the purpose of considering other connected issues in an independent atmosphere, the delegates from Malaya had successfully manoeuvred for not only a change of venue but for a conference of "representatives", and not merely of "Selected" Delegations, at a later date. Bose was appointed convener of such a conference, to be held at Bangkok about 6 months later. What impressed me about Bose was that he was not dissatisfied with this move or the results of the Conference; his sole aim was that Indians outside India should unite and organise for Independence. He was not particular as to how we did it—whether on Tokyo lines or on our own. This attitude was a pleasant surprise and made me study Rashbehari even more deeply.

Bose, I observed, commanded great respect in Japan. To many, his name was synonymous with Indian freedom. Both in civil, and, what counted most then, in military circles, he had the reputation of being an ardent Indian patriot. All knew him. The fact that he had risked his life for his country was enough for a people famous for their patriotism. Moreover they knew him more than they knew any other Indian; and they must have come to know of many of his great qualities of head and heart. In his company, we met most Japanese statesmen, military and civilian leaders, writers, journalists, academicians and even humbler folk,

and were able to form some impression of Japan's sympathetic attitude towards Indian freedom.

It was only in Bangkok, and six months later, that I next met Rash Behari Bose. In the meantime, my colleagues and I had already organised the Indian Independence League at Malaya of which I had become the President. Perhaps, it was the best organised of the various Leagues in Asia at the time, with several branches all over the Malayan Peninsula ; so much so that at the Bangkok Conference to which I had the privilege of leading a much larger Delegation than to Tokyo, the Malayan contingent was considered the most vital element. One of our first moves was to change the venue of the Conference as some suspected that we were being spied upon by diverse elements and that there might have been arrangements made already in the Hall that had been fixed up, for "tapping" our deliberations. I found Dr. Rashbehari immediately falling in line and agreeing to such a change if I thought it was desirable, even though I had not taken him into my confidence regarding the reasons for the change. This fact again convinced me that he was not the type who would play to the tunes of a foreigner in sacrifice of his country's interests. The Japanese who had lent us the Hall were naturally inconvenienced by my suggestion and even openly showed some irritation at such an eleventh hour move.

Rashbehari Bose was President of the Conference. He displayed great dignity and considerable patriotism throughout its sittings. There were about 103 delegates from various countries of East and South-East Asia, and he endeared himself to one and all. I was elected Chairman of the Conference and conducted its day-to-day deliberations in consultation and co-operation with Rashbehari Bose. We looked at questions and resolutions together, and sometimes from different angles, and though we differed many a time in our views, we respected each other. He was a good friend and a pleasant companion, had a keen sense of humour, and many

entertaining stories to tell. He was frank and outspoken. He seemed to like the good things of life—I do not mean the flesh pots—but that he was a *bon vivant*. Good clothes, good food, a good residence and other material comforts seemed to appeal to him just as much as spiritual objectives. He did not see eye to eye with those who enthroned and glorified poverty in the name of simplicity. Rebel, revolutionary, exile, scholar, writer, teacher—and yet, he had a knack of enjoying life as average man did. Prudery, snobbery or pedantry never came his way. However, I noticed that if need be, he was capable of sacrifices and would subject himself to privations to a greater extent than many who lived poorly. I must say that most of these qualities, though excellent in themselves, were not the ones that attracted Rashbehari Bose to me. It was his intense love of freedom for his country. His one all-absorbing passion was to go back to India—a free man—and set foot on a free soil. He did not seem to nurse any hatred of the British or any one else. Whenever he spoke of them, he spoke without rancour. As to our leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, and others, he displayed great respect and regard. He seemed to feel, however, that being within India their fight for freedom had necessarily to be limited and circumscribed. He was, I am sorry to say, no believer in non-violence, and on more occasions than one he reiterated his conviction that violence and non-violence should go hand in hand in the liberation of our country! To him, both were legitimate means to achieve a legitimate end.

The Bangkok resolutions conferred on him the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East and South-East Asia, until the arrival, if possible, of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose whom we had resolved to invite in order to take over the guidance of the movement. In the meantime, Rashbehari Bose became the President of a Council of Action which we had constituted. The headquarters of the Movement were to be in Bangkok for the time being.

After the Conference, when we were about to return to Malaya, Dr. Rashbehari extracted from me a promise that I would return to Bangkok at the earliest opportunity. However, that was not to be, as the problems in Malaya were such that when I got back I found myself submerged by them. As a rule Military Governments are harsh ; and the administration by the Japanese Army of the territories it had subjugated was no exception. Its ferocity and unscrupulousness made me turn away from it, and despite all the assurances to the contrary given by high-ranking personages, both in Japan and in Malaya, our difficulties with their local representatives gradually grew to such an extent that a break with them was found to be inevitable. Often they tried to interfere with the Indian Independence Movement and whittle down its autonomous status. When the situation was thus going from bad to worse, Rashbehari Bose shifted his headquarters from Bangkok to Singapore. Though the members of the Council of Action, including myself, resigned, Rashbehari persisted in continuing the Movement despite the feeling of his erstwhile colleagues that there was a live danger of its being made use of by some of the local Agencies for their own War publicity. It was not a pleasant task, but he was desperate. It was, as it were, his last throw. If the Movement died, what else could be done at that time from outside India for Indian freedom? He said he had been looking for an opportunity like the one presented by the War and now that he had found it, he would even go it alone rather than give up. If any of the Japanese militarists in South-East Asia were obstructionists, he said he would even go back to Japan and extract again from higher levels a pledge for genuine and disinterested help. He was confident that they were for India's friendship. We discussed at length, and finally agreed to part, not because I necessarily distrusted the fountains of Japanese policy. The sources might be pure, but by the time a river reaches the plains it collects considerable impurities. I recalled that the Man-

choko Army followed its own policy and even tried to dictate to Governments at home. However, Bose who knew his Japan better than we did, could have been right. Any way, I learnt to respect his feelings though considering the stakes involved, resolved for the time being to withdraw into my shell.

I remember the day we agreed to part political company. We dined at Shri Goho's house in Singapore. Bose was visibly unhappy as I was going back to Penang the next morning. He however realised that with my feelings of disillusionment caused by what might be the indiscreet acts of on-the-spot Japanese administrators and army-men, it would be difficult for me to continue active work in an extra-territorial Movement like ours operating in a foreign jurisdiction. To show, as it were, that whatever happened we would be friends, he presented me with his pen ! I have it to this day ; and shall sign this article with it. I returned to Penang as planned, and my subsequent experiences while there confirmed, at least to my own conscience, that the step I had taken was right.

Though in failing health, he was full of cheer, full of life. However, he said his health was giving way ; and though Subhas Babu had given specific directions to have his health and comforts looked after, Rashbehari was anxious to get back to Japan for medical treatment. Again he expressed to me his faith in the genuineness of Japanese feelings towards Indian freedom. Whatever the militarists in South East Asia did, he said, the heart of Japan was sound and would beat in unison with that of Free India. With prophetic foresight, he also saw Indian Freedom looming in the distance. He said, before the war ended India would be free. In a feeble voice, not perhaps believing it himself, he added that he would return to a Free India.

He did not. He left Singapore. I was afraid for his finances as I knew he had given everything he had to the Movement. I felt he would be in need ; and ventured to

send him a cheque. He returned it with many expressions of thanks. No ; his needs were few and though he had given all his property to the Movement and was returning to Japan with empty hands, he felt certain that he would be looked after and properly taken care of. He needed no money.

It was not long before we heard he had left us for ever ; but in leaving us, he left behind the cherished memory of a good friend and a great patriot through whose life ran one unbroken purpose—that of winning India's Freedom.

HOMAGE TO A GREAT PATRIOT

By S. A. Ayer

I flew to Bangkok in November 1940, fifteen months after the outbreak of World War II, as Reuter's Special Correspondent, to report on the gathering war clouds in East Asia ; Japan came into the World War on December 8, 1941 ; I tried to escape to India but failed ; Rash Behari Bose, the veteran Indian revolutionary and political exile in Japan, launched the Indian Independence Movement and made Bangkok his Headquarters in June 1942. Mr. Sivaram, the only Indian newspaper editor in Thailand for ten long years, threw up everything and enlisted under Rash Behari's banner and dragged me also along with him. The Headquarters were shifted to Singapore in March 1943, thirteen months after the British surrender of Singapore to the Japanese. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore in July 1943 and assumed the leadership of the Independence Movement. The exquisite grace with which Rash Behari Bose handed over the leadership of the historic movement to Subhash Chandra Bose will remain one of the unforgettable chapters in the history of India's struggle for Freedom.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the way Rash Behari handled the Japanese, even his worst enemy had no reason

to question his burning love for India till the last breath of his life : his only ambition till the last was to lay his tired bones on the soil of liberated India ; and, in spite of his frail health, the old man toiled to realise his dream, in the face of heavy odds, gloom and many a crisis.

The old man rose to his highest stature in the eyes of all Indians in East Asia at that momentous meeting of five thousand representative Indians at the Cathay Cinema Hall (Singapore) on the 4th of July 1943, when he handed over the leadership of the I.N.A. and the I.I.L. to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in a sporting and magnanimous speech. It was also Rash Behari's last public utterance. True to his word, he then effaced himself in favour of Netaji and was content to remain in the background and to follow Netaji as a true soldier.

With natural ease, he rose high above petty-minded men, petty thoughts, jealousies, intrigues, and back-bitings.

When I first met him at a hotel in Bangkok in May 1942, I did so under peculiar circumstances. I went to him with an amount of prejudice against him, and full of doubts and suspicions about his real intentions. He offered me a seat across the table. I sat down. He looked straight into my eyes and, with a disarming smile, came straight to the point :

"Well, Mr. Ayer, I am told you have been Reuters Correspondent here till now. Now I want you to be our Correspondent". (He meant, of course, that I should become a publicity man for the Indian Independence Movement). I failed to realise at that moment the great import of that great man's words. In my small mind there was confusion—some little satisfaction that I was going to do some important work, and a great deal of doubt and fear about what it all really meant and where it would land me. But, thank God, this stretched state of my mind did not last more than a few days. I met him almost every day and discussed the day's news with him and sought his guidance on the line to

adopt for the Independence League Broadcasts addressed to India. I successively became a fascinated listener, an ardent admirer and an unto-the-last loyal man of Rash Behari Bose. I owe a debt of gratitude to my friend, comrade and colleague in the Propaganda Ministry who had already established a reputation for himself in post-war India as an expert on Far Eastern Affairs. Sivaram coaxed, cajoled and literally dragged me to Rash Behari much against my will. Not even a hundred Sivarams could have dragged me away from Rash Behari after the first meeting. Rash Behari had a specially warm corner in his heart for Sivaram because, unlike me, Sivaram threw himself heart and soul into the movement from the moment he, very human first and last, responded to this gallant gesture of Sivaram with a love and affection which would bring out tears even from the eyes of brutes. And Sivaram, for his part, to-day carries the sacred memory of Sensai in the warmest corner of his heart, and sustains himself with it night and day, wherever he may be.

Rash Behari was Sensai (meaning "teacher", in Japanese) to all of us his Indian followers and admirers, and to most Japanese who gave him this popular title.

Free India must find time to remember her patriotic sons who spent their lives in exile in the hope that one day she may be free. Then Free India will perpetuate the memory of Rash Behari Bose with a suitable symbol which would express India's gratitude to the Japanese nation for giving him a life-long asylum and ultimately a piece of her soil for his grave. His ashes must be brought to Free India and interred here with due solemnity: only then the soul will rest in peace; only then India will have done her duty to herself.*

**"Unto Him An Witness".*

AN APPRECIATION

By John A. Thivy

Those of us who have had the privilege of knowing Shri Rash Behari Bose at the time of the inception of the Indian Independence League of East Asia and during the formative years of that organisation, could not help being struck by his shining patriotism, his undying courage, his practical-mindedness and his capacity for real hard work. When I refer to his patriotism, I know that it needs no elaboration, because all India is aware of it and knows that he left India because there was a prize on his head as a consequence of his patriotic zeal. But what I would like to touch upon is that because of his long sojourn of Japan and because of which he had to adopt the Japanese nationality, his patriotism for India underwent a severe test.

With the formation of the Indian Independence League and he as its President, inevitably there arose many difficult situations between ourselves and the Japanese—difficulties arising out of our determination to organise and perform the functions of the Independence League according to our will and for our objectives. Broadly speaking, our objectives and those of Japan were the same in that both desired the termination of the British domination. But on questions of details, there were innumerable difficulties.

It has to be remembered that it was war-time, and therefore the Japanese who had won territories in East Asia by force of arms, had the legitimate right to consider the fact that all members of the cosmopolitan population consisting of all the communities, quickly came together within the fold of this vast organisation, while there were other communities that had no such rallying point. All that was open to them was to behave in such a way as not to clash with the war-time administration set up by the Japanese in these territories.

But for us overseas Indians, we had a particular job to do, to help win Independence for India. We had inevitably to demand and do our utmost to obtain rights akin to

extra-territorial rights. The Japanese were not willing to accede to our demands, because quite rightly they felt that the granting of such demands would appear to other communities as showing special favouritism to Indians. In the tense atmosphere of a war situation it will readily be seen what a serious dilemma Shri Rash Behari Bose would have been in when he had to present his demands on behalf of the Indian Independence League and which demands could have appeared as clashing with the interests of Japan, he being a Japanese citizen. But with great tact as a Japanese citizen and yet with firm determination as of the same old Indian patriot who risked his life some decades earlier, he invariably overcame these difficulties in favour of the Indian Independence League of East Asia.

Besides these constant or, what I should term as external difficulties, we also had internal ones. The fact that we had them and had to resolve them demonstrates clearly that our movement, far from being one imposed upon us, was in fact born out of the will and imagination of overseas Indians themselves. We often clashed with each other, and therefore this marvellous movement suffered severe birth-pangs. So our President Rash Behari Bose had to face all these stupendous difficulties with the constant feeling of embarrassment which no doubt he felt more actually than he need have done, in that he was a Japanese citizen.

While, on the one hand, all Indians in the Movement were determined to prove that the Japanese shall not have any power or control over our movement, there was, on the other hand, fierce propaganda over the other, from the Western Allied side, directed against our movement, characterising it as a puppet one, pointing out that the movement's President was a Japanese citizen, and calling on us to refuse to participate in its activities, asserting that the movement was detrimental to the best interests of India. Over the other also came 'talks' from Indian Radio Stations, making similar efforts. Naturally, Shri Rash Behari Bose could not

have been unaffected by the charges levelled against him from India, accusing him of being a quisling, handling a puppet movement.

But we who worked closely with him, knew his calibre. We witnessed his fearless battles with the Japanese administration for this or that right to be accorded to us in order to be better fitted to perform our duties for the independence of India. The greatest monument that now stands to his undying memory is that very Indian Independence League of East Asia.

When Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took over the Presidentship in July 1943, the new President was immediately able to push on to the task of forming the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. This is the clearest proof that this great organisation, with Headquarters in Singapore, and with Territorial Branches and their Sub-Branchees all over East Asia, which Rash Behari Bose had set up, was so firmly established that, on that structure, Netaji was enabled to build the super-structure of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The Indian Independence League, from then onwards, served as the executive organ of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

Rash Behari Bose could only then relax. But the stupendous task that had fallen on his shoulders had begun to take its toll. It had permanently impaired his health and after a lingering illness borne with his usual courage and fortitude, he died on 21st January 1945, before he could see the dawn of Free India. But there was never a doubt in his mind that victory shall be with India. He was broken in health, but undaunted in spirit, assured of victory and he maintained a cheerful self till the last. Overseas Indians owe a great deal to him and can never forget him.

Indian Independence Movement in East Asia

A Short Sketch

By John A. Thivy

PREFACE

This monograph is written for the sole purpose of giving a true picture (though only a microscopic view) of the Indian Independence Movement, that was launched in East Asia in 1942, and conducted under the ægis of the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind* (Free India).

The reader is requested to overlook all shortcomings. Neither the time in which, nor the circumstances under which, this was written, were propitious to good penmanship.

Without records other than the Proclamation inaugurating the Provisional Government of *Azad Hind*, the Government *Communique* published on the 17th June, 1945, and some dates of important events, this short sketch of a great Movement has been attempted.

One further request : In order to give a correct and an unexaggerated account of the various states of the Movement, admissions have been made of difficulties, oppositions and set-backs, which we had to contend with. It is earnestly hoped that such admissions will not be made use of, out of their contexts.

This monograph was given by me to printers and publishers in Hanoi just a day or so before I was arrested there. I had no way of knowing whether the printers had done their work and whether, according to my instructions, the greater numbers of this publication were distributed among the personnel of the British Indian Army then occupying South Indo-China. It was only in 1952 that, with the kind assistance of the Office of the Indian Consul General in Saigon,

the printed and published copy of this booklet was obtained and sent to me. I was then Commissioner for the Government of India in Mauritius.

This single booklet is now in the National Archives of India, placed there by our Prime Minister. This is a roneoed copy of that booklet.

The Hague,

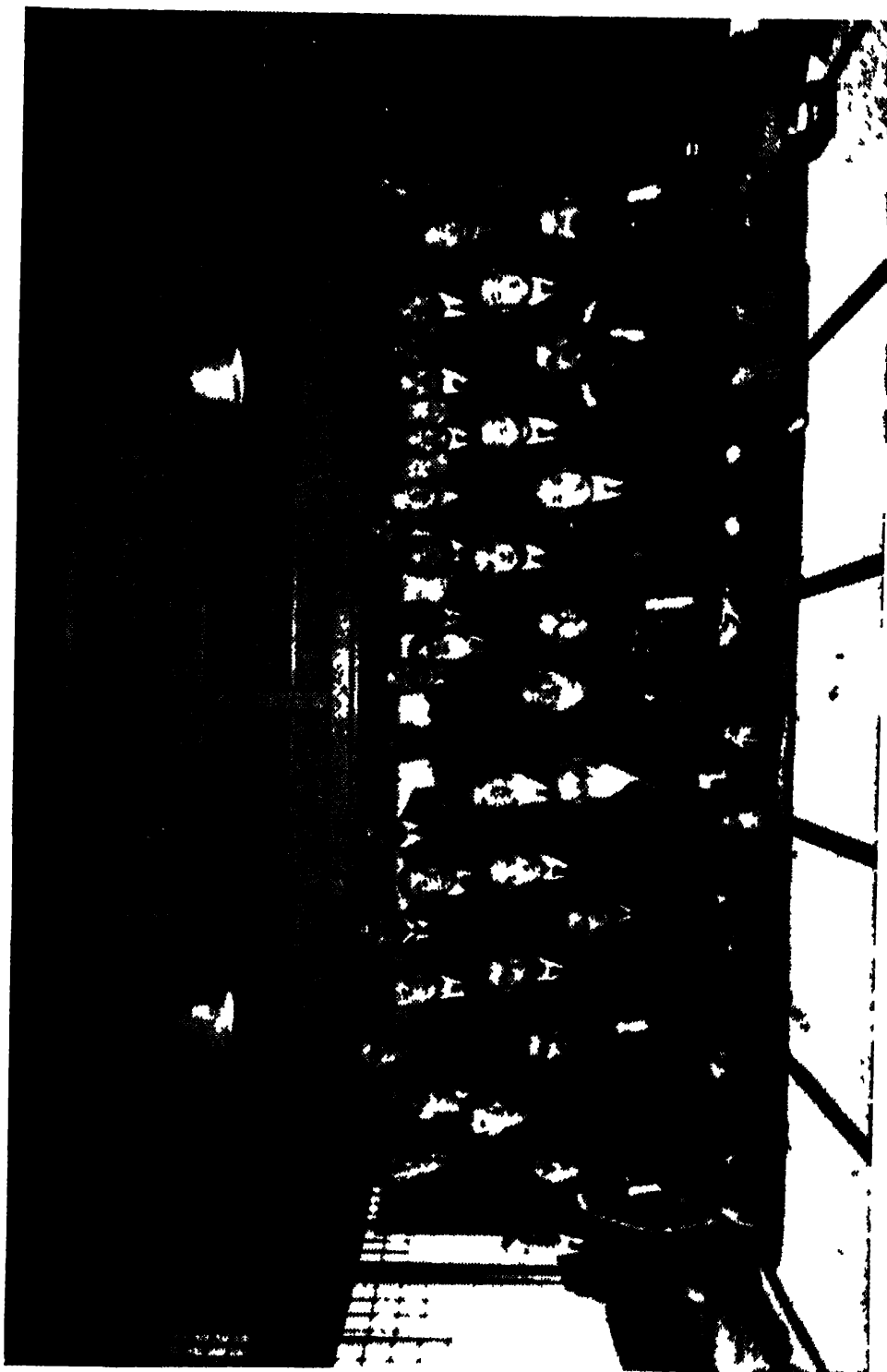
17 February, 1959.

Sd/- John A. Thivy.

PRE-WAR DAYS

Ever since the first War of Independence waged in 1857, Indian nationalists have continued with the struggle by adopting devious ways. But the well known way has been through the Indian National Congress, which was first organised in 1885. Indians outside India have always watched with keen interest and hopeful expectation this continuous uphill struggle against British Rule in India. However, it was only since the end of the First World War (1914-1918) that the Movement gathered momentum, keeping in tempo with the repressive measures taken by the British Indian solemn promise of Home Rule, made by the British Parliament during those war years.

In 1927 the Congress declared its goal to be complete Independence, after final severance from the British Crown. The intensity of the struggle thereafter was watched with baited breath by Overseas Indians—the solemn hoisting of the Indian National Flag, as 1929 gave way to 1930 ; the declared determination to continue the fight, until India was completely freed from British Yoke ; the refusals to consider any offers of compromise which fell short of complete freedom ; the rejection of the Indian Constitution of 1935 framed by the British Parliament for India ; the demonstration of



Last Public Reception of Netaji Subhas Chandra Basu at Tokyo (1944). The two Basus are on both sides of Mr. M. Toyama sitting in the centre of the front row. Courtesy : Dakshina Ranjan Bose

Congress Ministries in eight Provinces of India of their undeniable capability in performing the function of a Government, as also their wonderful discipline and solidarity in opposing all legislations which were detrimental to the interests of India, the *en bloc* resignations of all Congress Ministries, when the Viceroy, without even the semblance of a consultation with the Indian Central or Provincial Assemblies, proclaimed India a belligerent in a war between European Powers.

All these were stirring news to Overseas Indians. But we could do no more than watch and pray for national success. However, we lost no opportunities to show that though we were outside India and more or less concerned with our immediate local economic and social problems, our hearts were with India. On every National Day, Indians put up the National Tri-Colour Flag in their homes, shops, and Associations. The day's celebrations would end with meetings, at which speeches eulogising the qualities of India's leaders and heroes, would be made, and prayers offered for the success of their Mission.

GREATER EAST ASIA WAR

Therefore, with the outbreak of the Greater East-Asian War, it was no matter for wonder that Indians in the territories freed of European Domination, took up immediately the task of organising themselves into an united body, with the object of performing, by all means in their power, the duty of serving the best interests of the Motherland. In pre-war days there were Societies of Indians with different appellations. Of these the Indian Associations were the most popular because they served the people. With the advent of the war and our determination to be united, mushroom associations were closed down, and the Indian Associations became the centres of the New Movement—the Indian Independence League.

As its name indicates, its object was to fight for the independence of India. But months before its formal inauguration at Bangkok in June, 1942, the Indian Independence League Branches in cities, towns and villages gained great popularity, because they served the Indians in many ways during the most difficult period, namely, the transitory period. To mention but a few : reuniting families ; giving food and shelter to the destitutes ; securing employment to the unemployed ; giving medicines to the sick ; settling disputes ; establishing ownership of properties. The League Centres worked so hard and so well that they became indispensable to the Indian populace.

However, the path to effect unity was not strewn with roses. Some of the former mushroom associations, on giving proof of their previous existence, were allowed to function again. But popular resentment and demonstrations against *their revival, the shallowness of their objectives, their inability to serve the people owing to organisational defects and our patient persuasion towards unity*—all these combined to bring about their closure. Of these the most dangerous to our movement were the apparently harmless Communal Social Clubs and Associations. But factions among their office-bearers due to paucity of able men, selfishness in motives and lack of any co-ordinated plan of action, brought about their undoing. Moreover the organisers did not get the wholehearted support of the Indians of the particular religious persuasion. The majority of them preferred to identify themselves with the new move towards national unity.

INAUGURATION OF I. I. L.

At the formal inauguration of the Indian Independence League, delegates from territories all over Greater East Asia gathered at Bangkok in June 1942. They came from Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indo-China, Philippines, Japan, China,

Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Hong Kong, and Andamans. The Indian Army was fully represented. After due deliberation, lasting for a number of days of day-night sessions, the Constitution of the Indian Independence League was formed. Srijiut Rash Behari Bose was elected President and with him, four other members constituted the Council of Action. It was unanimously decided that the object of the movement was the attainment of complete and immediate Independence of India, free from any foreign control, domination or interference of whatsoever nature.

The delegates returned to their respective territories, where at mass meetings the people were informed of the decisions arrived at. The tremendous enthusiasm shown by the people was beyond the most sanguine expectations. In fact, it was so great and sustained that in a few months, it became unmanageable. The "Quit India" Resolution adopted by the Indian National Congress Working Committee on August 8th, 1942, was a further impetus to the high enthusiasm and the popular cry for immediate action.

CRITICAL DAYS

When caution and deliberation were advocated by some Leaders who felt that preparations were not yet completed for direct action in keeping with the objective of our movement, the General Officer Commanding the Indian Army gave indications that he and his men were not going to be guided by the Council of Action. This ushered in critical days for our Movement. Changes in the personnel had to be made, and the consequences had to be faced and set right.

Next, the youth all over were seething with impatience. They decided to form the Youth League, with clearly voiced objective of taking control of the whole Movement. Something constructive had to be done, and that too immediately. So a site for a Military Training Camp was obtained, and volunteers were called for.

Thousands flocked to the recruiting centres. Despite clear instructions to the contrary, the volunteers resigned their jobs, or just walked out of their places of employment, for the sole purpose of forcing the recruiting officials to send them to the Training Camps, regardless as to whether they were fit or not. Many had to be refused, only for the reason that there was no accommodation in the Camp.

Their action in this regard was a new problem which the organisation had to solve. Those disappointed were sullen and even abusive. President Srijut Rash Behari Bose worked very hard during these critical days to find a solution which would bring order among the masses and yet not destroy the wonderful spirit of the youth. Broken in health, he carried on until he handed over his office to the more youthful and celebrated leader Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose. Srijut Rash Behari Bose never recovered from the great strain of those days. He passed away after a protracted illness on 21st January, 1945.

Looking back on those critical days, one cannot help but feel that a great opportunity was lost. It was lost because we were not fully prepared to effectively seize that opportunity. It was a golden opportunity because, in India, there was a great revolution taking place, commencing soon after the "Quit India" Resolution. It spread all over India, and was most intense from Bengal in the East to Sindh in West. For several months the revolutionaries paralysed the administration, took control of police stations and destroyed rail, road, telegraph and telephone communications. At this time all India's leaders were languishing in jails. So, there was no one in the country to lead this revolution into constructive channels. But we were not ready for the fray. Our youth wanted to march right away into India, firmly convinced that, so long as they had the spirit, they could fight the battle of India's Liberation. No praise is sufficient for such unbounded spirit and determination to serve the cause of India.

But it would have been suicidal to send them to the fighting fronts, without first giving them training in arms and in discipline. On the other hand, we were most anxious to be the first to enter India. We were aware that the Nipponese Armed Forces had already freed Burma of the British and that they could have gone into India, having regard to the facts that the British were in full retreat, and that India was in the throes of a National Revolution. However, during this period, the Nipponese Nation, through its Premier General Tojo, repeatedly stated that Nippon had no ulterior motives in India. These statements, together with the fact that the Japanese Armed Forces did not follow up their successes in Burma, by going into India, gave us confidence in Nippon's pledged utterances.

Nippon also repeatedly pledged her all-out support to us in our endeavours to win India's Independence. At that stage of the fighting, it would have been an easy matter to have obtained all the monetary and material help from Japan for our Movement. In fact we were constantly reminded that we had only to ask for whatever we needed, and they would be at our disposal. But we were determined to tap our own resources in man, money, and materials for a fight that was peculiarly our own. We desired to establish clearly and beyond all dispute that our movement relied upon and obtained the full moral, spiritual, material and man-power support of the Indians of East Asia.

All in all; these were difficult days for our Movement. The Nipponese Military administrations had their hands full with the dual duty of prosecuting a war covering great distances, and establishing orderly Government in territories peopled by various nationalities. The people themselves were just beginning to settle down to the new conditions of life. In the Indian Independence League, the workers in the Branch and Sub-Branch Offices were performing their duties on the basis of free service. Though laudable, this was not conducive to efficiency, as full-time service could not be

claimed from them. It was also felt that the Constitution was cumbersome. So a second conference of the representatives of the Indian Independence League Territorial Committee was held in the month of April 1943. After due deliberations, the Constitution was altered in such a manner as to introduce an administrative system, effecting improvements and despatch in the work.

NETAJI TAKES OVER

By the time Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose took over the Presidentship of the Indian Independence League, East Asia, on July 4th, 1943, the Organisation was established on a sound foundation, and ready for further organised action, under the dynamic leadership of the new President. Ever since the Bangkok Conference in June 1942, when Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose sent his radio message from Germany, promising the Indians of East Asia that he would come over, the nearly three millions of Indians were awaiting the fulfilment of that promise. Just a year had passed and he came. The reception he received in Singapore at the mass rally of Indians on the 9th of July was one which any conquering hero in any part of the world would have been proud of. The people responded to his rallying call of Total Mobilisation with sincerity and spontaneity.

Earlier, to be exact, on the 5th of July, he reviewed the Indian Army. He was satisfied. On the 8th of July the formation of the *Azad Hind Fauj* (Indian National Army) was announced. Prior to this, Indian women were agitating for their right to take up their share in the noble task of winning India's Independence. In fact some of them had already taken up training in squad drills and arms to give positive proof that they meant business. So, at a mass rally of Indian women in Singapore, on the 12th of July, the formation of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, as a contingent of the I.N.A. was announced by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

He was gratified to see that the masses were desirous of doing all in their power for the cause of India. He interviewed the delegates from other parts of East Asia, and he was assured by them of the same high spirits of the Indians in their respective spheres, as was witnessed in Malaya. But he wanted to see for himself. So he made a tour of all the Territorial Branches of the Indian Independence League in East Asia.

DEPARTMENTALISATION OF ACTIVITIES

In the meantime, a reorganisation of the Headquarters of the Independence League was effected by departmentalising the different activities of the League. Thus the General Secretariat, Propaganda Department, Finance Department, Accounts and Audit Department, Recruitment and Training Department, Supplies Department, Women's Department, Housing and Transport Department, Health and Social Welfare Department, Education and Culture Department, Territorial Branches Department, Overseas Department, were created. In the Headquarters, full-time secretaries were placed in charge of departments, and were assisted by assistant secretaries, office superintendents and clerical staff.

Similar departments were created in the hundreds of State Branches and Sub-Branchees, with Members-in-charge and staff for each department. The State Branches guided and controlled the Sub-Branchees within the respective States. The Territorial Branches Departments, such as the Malaya Branch Department, the Burma Branches Department, the Java Branches Department, etc., guided and controlled their respective State Branches, and through them, the Sub-Branchees. The Territorial Branches Department was the liaison department between the Headquarters and the units.

Orders and instructions were issued from time to time in the form of circulars. The Branches and Sub-Branchees,

in turn, sent monthly reports on their departmental activities. Monthly Bulletins were published by the Territorial Branches, dwelling on the activities of the Branches and Sub-Branchees and also giving extracts of reports from other overseas territories. By this means the different centres were kept informed of the activities of the others, thus engendering a healthy spirit of rivalry and competition. The Overseas Department of the Headquarters kept contact with the far-flung Territorial Branches, regularly keeping them informed of the needs and behests of the Movement, and receiving reports thereon.

THE PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT

The Propaganda Department stepped into its assigned duty with pleasure. It was a pleasure to them because they were afforded the means and opportunity to freely, openly and uninterruptedly disclose the truth which had been suppressed for such a long time. To trace the true history of Britain's motives in India, from the time of the British East India Company, till she threw away all pretence of being peaceful traders ; the establishment of her political dominion over India, which she declared as part of the British Empire in 1858 ; the deliberately avowed Imperial policy of dividing the country and its people, by setting up in between British Indian Provinces, Indian Princeloms to act as buffer states ; the fostering of inter-religious and communal differences and hatreds and propagating incidents thus created, through newspapers, journals, books and radio ; the undermining of Indian industries, enterprises and economies by unfair tariffs, heavy taxation on machineries, coupled with the adoption of ingenious methods to enforce delays in the means of transport and communications to Indian agricultural and industrial enterprises ; the destruction of Indian culture by the dual method of refusing and otherwise preventing or not recognising Indian National educational insti-

tutions, and instead establishing schools and colleges which educate the youth by text-books that remove his mind and heart from things Indian and makes him a votary of all things British; and the periodical reinforcement and strengthening of the political machinery, always timed to anticipate or suppress concerted national demands and risings, for the composite purpose of making the poor dumb millions still poorer, securing the chains of political serfdom more firmly, removing further into oblivion our cultural traits, and turning down the thumb-screws of oppression, thread by thread, on the solely tried spirits of the people,—to trace the history of these and many more malpractices of the like nature, was a task which the Department admirably fulfilled with the aid of the platform, the press and the radio.

The pre-war Indian newspaper establishments became the mouthpiece of the Indian Independence Movement. In each territory, there was the central office which, besides editing and publishing its own papers, chalked out the policy and gave advice to the other privately owned newspapers. The central office published its newspapers, periodicals, bulletins, etc., in Romanised Hindustani, Tamil and English. These found their way to every town and village through its agents. They also printed and published pictorial and national slogan posters, for distribution. This specialist's work was performed by the Artist Section of the Propaganda Department.

Besides, our Radio stations in Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Indo-China and Japan, which had their special staff of announcers, writers, commentators, etc., there were the local broadcasting stations, where the Leagues of those localities had their special 'hour'. Programmes consisted of news and news commentaries, talks by prominent leaders from our military as well as the civil side, dialogues, Indian music and song-hits, important announcements, statements, communi-

ques and declarations, and the receiving and transmitting of personal messages from and to the people in India.

To every unit of the I.N.A. was attached a propaganda squad. These squads consisted of announcers in the different languages, typists, writers and radio operators and mechanics. They underwent a course in military training and discipline. Touring propaganda officers of each territory, and the member-in-charge of the propaganda departments of the League Branches, received a course of instructions on their work. Through them, unity of policy and programme was maintained and the masses kept up to date with information.

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

To put into practical effect the call for and response to Total Mobilisation in men, the Recruitment and Training Departments set to the task with a will, and soon Training Camps for men as well for women were opened. Commands, orders and instructions were in Hindustani and Commandants, Officers and Instructors for these camps were picked Officers and N.C.O.'s of the *Azad Hind Fauj*. After about six months of intensive training the recruits were absorbed into the I.N.A. There they received further training and were then dispatched to the fighting fronts.

Besides this work, the Recruitment and Training Departments of the Branches and Sub-Branchees gave part time training in their respective areas to the youth. This was done, not only from the general viewpoint of imparting instructions on order and discipline and giving spiritual training, but also as a sort of safety valve, in that temporary satisfaction was given to those who had to be refused admission into the Training Camps straightaway, solely because there was no immediate accommodation available.

It was a heartening sight to see of evenings, in the playing fields of towns and villages, not only those who were by age and physique fit in due course to enter the training

camps, but also the office-bearers, merchants, shopkeepers, Indian officials and clerical staff of the local Government service, parading about ; thereby deriving spiritual, physical and moral benefits for themselves and for the eternal benefit of Free India. As the call on the trained officers and men of the I.N.A. had to be curtailed, special training Institutions, known as the Azad Schools, were opened, to train instructors for part-time trainees.

Allied to these activities of the Department were the Reconstructions Institutions, later to be called the *Azad Hind Dal*. In these Institutions, instructions were imparted to those desirous of taking up duties other than purely military in the Territories of India, to be taken by our Armed Forces. According to the categories, they were given instructions on duties pertaining to Executive, Administrative, Judicial, Police, Public Works, Medical, Sanitation, Relief and such others as are necessary for good Government. They had also to undergo some military training. This was necessary because batches of them had to go to the fighting fronts with the I.N.A. so that they would be on the spot, ready to take over duties. It was not the idea that they should settle down in such places. Their job was to get in touch with the local Indian talent and after peace and order has been restored, and satisfaction has been accorded to the populace, the members of the Azad Hind Dal had to hand over their duties to local men and press forward, on to new territories. Their watchword was—Service to the People.

Another small, but not a whit less important school was the Interpreters School. Nippon-Go interpreters were an absolute necessity, for purposes of liaison with the local Government and Military Authorities. The Japanese of course had their interpreters, who could have served our purposes. But it was our desire to have as interpreters our own men, who would at the same time, have a knowledge of the policy, working and requirements of our Movement. Intelligent boys of undoubted patriotic feelings, were carefully selected

for this purpose. They had also to undergo a period of military, physical and spiritual training, before they were posted either in the Army or in the League. From this school, students were selected and sent to Japan for post-graduate courses in the Military Academies there.

When it was seen that an everflowing stream of young men and women would be entering the *Azad Hind Fauj* Training Camps, we visualised the need for more Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers. So Officers' Training Schools and N.C.O.'s Training Schools were opened. Applications were open to (1) Civilians (2) Recruits in Training Camps (3) Men already of the *Azad Hind Fauj*. Selection Boards interviewed every candidate and the best were selected. Civilians demanded and obtained a fair proportion in the number finally selected for the respective courses. This demand was made by the civilians, because they felt, and naturally too, that those who had already received military training, would have an advantage before the Selection Boards.

Mention must also be made of those Institutions that trained men for the difficult and dangerous task of preaching our mission in territories still occupied by the British. Their task was to prepare the ground for the entry of our freedom fighters. They had to be men of undoubted courage and patriotism, with a clear conviction in the justice of our cause. Theirs' was also the task of effecting a synchronization between all freedom movements inside India and ours outside India.

FINANCE AND REVENUE

In the sphere of Total Mobilisation of money and materials Indian Independence League Fund Committees were set up in the Branches and Sub-Branchees, with a central Board of Management to control and direct them, and to issue final receipts to contributors. As in Manpower, so also

in Money and Materials, contributions were voluntary. In order to maintain a sense of equity, a form of assessment was adopted, which was a sliding scale of percentage on total wealth. The Board of Management as also the Committees in the districts, were composed of leading citizens of the propertied and monied classes and office-bearers of the League. At the Board meetings, rules and regulations were passed in accordance with the policy of the Movement and the representations that were made from time to time. The basis of valuation of properties, both movable and immovable, were fixed by the Board.

However, there were people who contributed much more than their share, and still others who gave up all that they possessed. A few cases there were, of people who evaded payments. But there are such people even in free countries where they evade the taxation laws by all conceivable methods possible. It was only in those rare cases, where not only the individual evaded payment, but also indulged in adverse propaganda, that stern warnings were given. This, coupled with public resentment against such individuals, were usually sufficient to bring them round to a proper sense of their duty. Those who indulged in subversive propaganda, did not do so out of any political convictions, but merely to save their pockets. In fact our reluctance to take such action, as any other Government would have taken under similar circumstances, was a regular complaint from that vast majority, who willingly performed their duties to the cause.

The cash thus received was passed on to the Finance Department of the Headquarters or, if convenient, to the Branches and Sub-Branchees, and deposited in the nearest Banks, to the account of the Headquarters. On budgets previously scrutinised and passed by competent authority the Finance Department disbursed funds to the I.N.A. and respective departments of the League. In the case of donations in kind, the materials were passed on to the Supply

Department and the valuation thereof was recorded by the Finance Department. The officials of the Audit Department were regularly on tours, performing their duties.

SUPPLIES

The Supply Department had a rather difficult task to perform, considering such facts as that (1) a titanic war was on, (2) the scattered nature of territories to be administered, (3) no single territory in East Asia was really self-sufficient in food, raw materials and manufactures, (4) large standing and moving Armies were in need of supplies, (5) demand was invariably greater than supplies.

Demands from our Army Camps, Training Camps, Hospitals, Relief Centres, and, above all, moving troops, were constant and varied. Destruction by enemy action had to be taken into consideration. To cope with these and many more demands and contingencies, a net-work of supply centres and depots were maintained. In this task, Indian merchants co-operated very well by giving the Supply Department preferential rates and accommodation, buying from the open market commodities that we would need and offering us the first opportunities to buy, or even donating them outright to the Movement.

Communications between the various centres and the Headquarters were maintained by couriers, besides the normal methods of post, telegraph and telephone. Transportation of goods from different territories to places where they were needed was a problem which needed great ingenuity, initiative and perseverance to solve. And they were solved according to time, place, opportunity and resources. In this, as in every other activity, our guiding principle was to achieve things by our own efforts.

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

The work of the Women's Department deserves special mention and unqualified praise. If we fully realise the fact that Indian women in general, and particularly Indian women outside India, were always of a retiring nature, content to be the mistresses of the household, finding complete happiness in the management and security of the home, leaving the menfolk to fight the battle of life, then and then alone can one appreciate the tremendous moral and spiritual uplifting effect of the Independence Movement. It has brought Indian women out of their seclusion, to brave all difficulties, trials and dangers of an open fight for Indian Independence, on an equal footing and to an equal measure, with their menfolk. Their argument was that before the advent of the Movement they considered the home as their sphere of control and influence. So they devoted to it all their love and regard, even toils and tears, to render it an abode of peace and comfort, happiness and prosperity. The Independence Movement enlarged their outlook. They began to realise that the peace and security of their homes could never be guaranteed, until their larger home, India, was swept clean of all foreign control and influence and garnished by those of their own. Once having decided upon their course of action, there was no question of half-measures with them. They infiltrated into every possible activity of the Movement. Was it Recruitment and Training? They had their Camps, and Women Volunteers came in regularly for the combatant services and for medical and nursing services. Was it Finance, Revenue, and Supplies? At mass rallies where their beloved Netaji Subash Chandra Bose gave addresses, they marched up to the dias and after garlanding him, showered upon him, for the benefit of the cause, their jewels and trinkets, removed at the spot from their person cloth which was necessary for clothes and bandages for patients in the I.N.A. hospitals as well as the Relief Homes.

Beautiful flowing sarees were stripped into bandages, and old clothes were collected, washed and mended and then despatched to the hospitals and Relief Homes. Even pots and pans were spared from household kitchens to find their way to fighting fronts. Was it propaganda, education or culture? Women addressed meetings and spoke to the world over the radio, wrote articles in papers and composed, sang and popularised national songs. Some took courses in instruction in Indian National Teachers' Training Schools and took up posts as teachers in Indian National Schools. Was it Health and Social Welfare? Women ministered to the sick and needy, in the Hospitals and Relief Homes. They visited neighbouring estates and labour lines and showed the way to better health, cleanliness and sanitation. They organised musical parties, concerts, variety entertainments, national dramas, for the free entertainment of wounded soldiers, and relief homes. They also staged them for the public benefit and gave the money thus collected for Health and Social Welfare work and other worthy causes.

Their enthusiasm was a constant inspiration to the League workers and supporters, and a source of embarrassment to the slackers.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Another sphere of our activities, which needed a good deal of thoughtful planning, was that of the proper education of Indian children. Our Movement decided to popularise Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of India. The question of script was a thorny one to settle. The Roman script was advocated by us. In order to popularise this, our newspapers and other publications in the Hindustani language used the Roman script, as also the books for the use of students.

There were difficulties that needed careful and tactful handling. On the one side was the desire of some parents

that their children should imbibe such knowledge as would secure for them jobs in the new military administrations, and so add to the family funds, to meet the increasing cost of living. Again, there were some parents who were averse to their children neglecting their provincial language. "Therefore", they asked, "how many languages can our children learn at a time?"

On the other side were the Local Government's Educational Authorities, who expected the children to attend their schools. This was another obstacle to overcome. Furthermore, in some territories, there was a dearth of Hindustani teachers, or Hindustani knowing people, who could take up posts as teachers.

The objections of parents were combated by openly telling them that the Movement held out no promise of immediate gain for them. The Movement promised only suffering and sacrifice. It was up to them to brave all hardships, with faith and confidence in the final outcome of our present struggle. They were asked to realise that one of the ways towards unity and strength was the knowledge of a common language.

As against the Local Governments, we insisted upon the point that the Indian struggle would fail if we did not prepare the youth for the future, and that this necessitated the training and education of the youth on national lines.

But the Education and Culture Department did not wait for an assurance of support from the one side, or for a full recognition of our viewpoint, from the other. Schools were opened with and without Local Government consent. In due course, with persistence, propaganda and achievement, the scheme of National Education became an accomplished fact, receiving the support of the populace and full recognition of Local Government authorities.

A happy balance in studies, drills and games, made the system popular with the youngsters. They learnt to be proud of their schools. They enjoyed the periodical outings, de-

monstrations and rallies. They learnt national songs and sang them in their homes, vibrating and revibrating the walls with their lusty voices, to eventually find an answering echo in the mature but faltering voices of their parents and elders.

To maintain uniformity in the method of imparting education and training on national lines, Teachers Training Schools were instituted. Men and women entered these schools for a course of instructions. At the end of the course they were tested on their knowledge and efficiency, after which they were given certificates and appointed as teachers in National Schools.

The medium of instruction was Tamil or Bengali or Hindustani, according to the mother tongue of the students. The Department also conducted part-time evening classes for those members of the public who could not, for obvious reasons, attend the day-classes.

After the *Balak Sena* (Boy Scouts) was formed, all students in the National Schools, within the age of fourteen, became members of this body. *Balak Sena* leaders received special training and took up posts as such, in the various centres, to teach their young compatriots discipline, drills, physical culture, patriotic songs and the like. The same applied to little girls. They were known as *Balika Sena*. The *Senas* had their special badges and uniform. They took part in all public meetings, demonstrations and rallies. They took part in variety entertainments and staged patriotic dramas. Great credit goes to the teachers who took up their work in all seriousness, with the sole idea of developing in their charges the pride of nationality.

CEYLON DEPARTMENT

The Ceylonese, particularly in Malaya, expressed their desire to take up their share of the work, on the basis that Ceylon must identify itself with India in the struggle for Independence. They were convinced that a free India will

naturally fight for the elimination of the British domination in Ceylon if for no other reason, at least because India will not tolerate a British seat of aggression so close to India. Ceylonese knew the fact that they had their nationalist organisations in Ceylon, fighting for the freedom of their motherland. They knew that only after India attains her complete independence, can Ceylon hope to attain hers. They also knew that a free Ceylon could not possibly protect her freedom for long unless it associated itself with her more powerful neighbour and parent—India.

So after the Ceylonese leaders had discussed with Netaji on the above lines, it was decided to introduce the Ceylon Department of the Headquarters. The like Departments were then opened in the branches and sub-branches of those localities where there were Ceylonese. The members-in-charge and assistants obtained details of all such information as were required by the other departments of the League centres and co-operated with the latter in such a manner as to be a part and parcel of a single organisation. They submitted monthly reports, which the Secretary, Ceylon Department of the Headquarters, received in due course, and he in turn sent instructions, orders and regulations in keeping with the general policy of the Movement.

A Lanka Unit was formed and it received training that would fit the personnel for posts as Non-Commissioned Officers in the I.N.A. as instructors for part-time trainees and for infiltration purposes. They were a set of smart young men who took to their training with remarkable keenness. There were some who became officers in the I.N.A. Ceylonese girls joined the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and they were among the smartest in the Unit.

The Ceylonese completely identified themselves with the Indian Independence Movement, by becoming members of the League. When the Provisional Government was formed, they took the Oath of Allegiance along with the Indians,

fully convinced that the salvation of Ceylon would come through India.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT

As already mentioned, Health and Social Welfare work found great favour with the Indian masses. It must be realised that, to India, regardless of his religious persuasion, charitable work was an article of faith with him. Feeding of the poor must find a place in the programme of any celebrations, be it national, sectarian, or personal. Even funeral ceremonies are not complete without the feeding of the poor. Perhaps God, in His inscrutable ways, has developed this trait among all Indians, to be counteracting force against the impoverishment of the masses by the British Administration in India.

Be that as it may, the fact that our Movement took up this work as a part of its programme, had established a union between our Administration and those poor and illiterate of our countrymen who, though a deadweight on the Revolution, are the very cause for which we are fighting. They may not grasp this fact in any clear understandable manner. They cannot think of the ideal, when their immediate problem is where and how to get their next morsel of food. But they gradually came to grasp this much at least:—there is some kind of an organisation, purely Indian, which is thinking of them as a whole going out of its way to collect them from streets, house them and feed them. The food may be some kangi and vegetables, clothes may be old and with many a patch. But they ask themselves: "Are not Indians, men, women and children, regularly visiting our humble abodes and saying a few kind words to us? Are not Indian women and children giving us little presents and entertaining us to songs, dances and music? Do not men and women in special white clothes, examine our emaciated bodies, give medicines, which they promise will make us well and hearty, and do

not tender fingers wash and clean our gaping, nauseating ulcers and bandage them up? Yes, sometimes, we see our companions in misery, despite kindly attentions, breathe no more, go stiff and cold and are finally taken to their last resting place. But many of us do get well. Then, are we asked to go and fend for ourselves? No, instead are we not sent to a farm where we are given agricultural tools and other implements, a room to live in, and food to keep body and soul together? Again, are we not told that if we are diligent and produce nice green vegetables and rice crops, the land will be ours, to till, and the produce ours to dispose as we will?"

These are some of the questions which they asked themselves and, from their own experiences, found answers which heartened them. It made them curious to know something more about this great Indian Movement.

Thousands of them had worked in the malarious jungles between Thailand and Burma, to open up roadways and railways. They saw Indian soldiers use the very ways that they had built, to go and fight for their country and for them. In the early months of real pioneering work they suffered very great hardships and many lost their lives. After some time, they saw a Commission of Indian Welfare Workers inspect the conditions under which they toiled and lived. Soon after that, they were pleasantly surprised to note that doctors moved about them, that medicines were available, and food, clothing and housing conditions improved. Again, they came to know it was this great Indian Movement, that had helped to better their conditions.

All this and much more comprised the humanitarian work performed by the Health and Social Workers of the Movement. Their reward was the silent gratitude shown to them by these unfortunate countrymen whom they served.

. **SPECIAL INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY
SERVICES DEPARTMENT**

No great Revolutionary Movement has been able to perform its functions, without an Intelligence Service of its own. So also in the case of the Indian Independence Movement. The Intelligence Officers were its eyes and ears. They moved about, among the masses, in an unostentatious manner, and gave the League authorities a true picture of the feelings, wishes, or grievances of the public, and were a check on subversive activities against the Movement.

The Director of the Department guided and controlled the work, which was conducted through sections and their sub-sections. The sections were (1) The External, (2) The Internal, and (3) The Execution.

The External Section had its divisions into National Service Section, Security Section, and Intelligence Section. The National Service Section worked on the principle that all Indians were inherently good and patriotic. If Indians acted in a contrary way, it was mainly due to ignorance of the true politics of India, her aspirations, her strength and unity and her ability to fight for, attain and retain her independence. It was also because they had not fully grasped the necessity for a Movement like ours, which promised only suffering and sacrifice, for the time being. It was therefore the duty of the Officers of this Section to get in touch with such people, against whom reports had been received from the Intelligence Section, and win them over, by enlightening them with the true facts. This they had to do without officiousness, and with patience and tact, without disclosing that they were Officers of the Movement. They should be known only as ordinary members of the public. It was only when such attempts also failed, and the subjects gave indications that they would continue to be a menace to the Movement, and could be categorised as enemy agents, that they were passed on to the Execution Section, for necessary action.

The Security Section had a very important job of work to do. It is a regrettable fact that, though every Indian aspires to be a citizen of Free India, there are some who not merely say that the time is not yet ripe for Independence, but also hug the chains that bind them to foreign rule. They are usually persons who think in terms of present financial and social security. There were two such classes we had to contend with. (1) Those who were enemy agents. (2) Those Indians who, as servants in the Nipponese or Burmese or Thai Military Administrations, indirectly retarded the progress of the Independence Movement towards its attainment of Total Mobilisation in Men, Money and Materials, by the nature of their work, which was to safeguard the interests of such Local Governments in this regard.

It would have been foolish on the part of our Movement not to accept facts for what they were, even though unpalatable. There was no doubt whatsoever, that in larger issues, the respective Government declared, and gave the fullest support to each other, in the total war effort. But in the day-to-day task of guarding and improving upon one's own National Interests, respective Nations in the cosmopolitan countries of East Asia, found it profitable to utilise the services of the other nationalities in their territories, for their own ends.

So, the Security Section discovered the existence of some Indians, whose activities among our nationals, were directed towards the advancement of the Local Governments, and therefore, to the detriment of ours. The tussles thereby created could not, obviously, be conducted in the open, lest otherwise good relationships between Government and the others concerned should become strained.

The Security Section obtained the data and compiled reports on the activities of such Indians. It did counter-propaganda, by conducting whispering campaigns against their activities, so as to neutralise their ill effects. Efforts were also directed to win such Indians over to our Cause. Of

course, when any of such activities threatened larger issues, they were taken up with the Government Authorities concerned, with proofs of their commission.

The Internal Section, as the name indicates, kept a watch on the officials and workers of the Movement, including those of the Headquarters, the Territorial Branches, the State Branches and Sub-Branchees, and also the I.N.A. If it is realised that the Independence Movement was a fighting Organisation, contending with an enemy that was well known for its fighting strength, its Secret Service Organisation, and its ability to divide and rule, then the need for the services of a department of this nature will be fully appreciated. We were at war, fighting for a Cause, which had already taken toll of numberless patriots, who had died, waging a ceaseless struggle for well nigh two hundred years. This Movement was certainly not going to fail for want of proper precautions against traitors, within or without the Movement.

The Execution Section of the Department, sub-divided into the Report Section and Checking Section, prepared the final reports out of those received from the Intelligence Branch, and on these, action was taken. It sometimes happened that League Officials showed annoyance at the delay of the Higher Authorities in taking action on their reports, which alleged specific offences committed against the Movement by individuals or outside bodies. These Officials little realised that the delay was only due to the fact that, the Special Servicemen were put on the Job to check up on the allegations, and submit further reports. Such reports were collected and collated, and responsible Officers of the Department would scrutinise them carefully to see if there was a *prima facie* case established. If so, an enquiry would be held by a separate officer who after giving a proper hearing and recording evidence, would send his findings in the form of recommendation, to be dealt with by competent authority.

The Indian Independence Movement was no respecter of persons. The individual charged may be a well known

member of the public, or a highly placed official of the Movement. Yet the several steps of the inquiry and the subsequent meting out of justice would not falter in its aim of maintaining impartiality. It is indeed a credit to the Indians in East Asia, that there was hardly any who could be termed active and hardened traits to the cause of India.

THE INAUGURATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF *AZAD HIND*

It will be remembered that departmentalisation of the League's activities was effected by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose soon after he took over the office of President of the League, East Asia. All that have been related in the preceding pages were not achieved in a day. Yet, within three months of the setting up of this system of administration in the Headquarters and the Branches, encouraging results were forthcoming. The Officials and workers, with the exception of a few, had little or no experience, and only their willingness and enthusiasm, to commend them to their new tasks. Yet they performed their duties creditably, with admirable patriotic fervour. Mistakes were made by some ; some others refused to be bound by rules and regulations. But in every such case, it was found that such incidents were due to either inexperience or a desire to move faster than was desirable. However, ideas of discipline took shape, and in due course, discrepancies were less and acts of indiscipline few and far between.

When encouraging results were forthcoming, and the people felt happy to see before their very eyes, and experience in their daily lives, an administration system, grow and become strong, and serve them in a manner that was worthy of a Government, they started asking the question : "When will we have a Government of our own? We have the Leader, we have the Organisation and the Army, so, why not a Government?" Netaji could have announced the

formation of a Government as soon as he came. But he wanted to be assured that the Movement would function with dignity and precision, worthy of the name, Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). After his tour and after watching for some time the working of the Departments, and after being assured that the people too were ready to shoulder such a responsibility before the eyes of the world, the matter of inaugurating the Provisional Government was taken up in right earnest. Delegates from all over East Asia assembled in Singapore. After discussions and conferences, the great day in the history of India, the 21st of October, 1943, dawned upon an excited, enthusiastic, even hysterical people, who stormed the precincts of the Cathay Hall where amidst scenes of unprecedented feelings and emotions, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose read the following Proclamation, inaugurating the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

PROCLAMATION

After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought on uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice.—And in the pages of that history, the names of Sirajuddaula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Tamji of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab, and last but not least, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib—among others—the names of those warriors are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not, therefore, put up a united front against the Enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality

of the situation, they made a concerted move—and under the flag of Bahadur Shah, in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories, in the early stages of this war, ill luck and faulty leadership brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib, live like eternal stars in the nation's memory, to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while—but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the last world war, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods—namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the New Weapon of Non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

For two decades thereafter, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice and die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages, the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could not speak with one voice and strive with one will, for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939 through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus on the eve of the present World War, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's Liberation. During

the course of this war, Germany with the help of her allies, has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe—while Nippon, with the help of her allies, has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances, the Indian people, to-day have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their emancipation.

For the first time in recent history, Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home, but are also marching in step with them, along the path of freedom. In East Asia, in particular, over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx, inspired by the slogan of "Total Mobilization". And in front of them, stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan, "Onward to Delhi" on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot—British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether, and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame, is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home, and also a large section of Britain's Indian Army, and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad—but relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian Leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed—it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India, or to launch an armed struggle under the ægis of that Gov-

ernment. It is therefore the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her freedom, of her welfare, and of her exaltation among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind, constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up in Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien Government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's Freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a free nation.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional
Government of Azad Hind,
The Head of State, Ministers and Advisers.

October 21st, 1943.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Before the Provisional Government was formed, all Indian supporters of the Movement became members of the Indian Independence League on payment of one dollar. The membership card entitled the holder to uninterrupted movements within the country of his residence, and to assistance from all branches and sub-branches of the League, all over East Asia. It was his duty to serve, and if necessary, suffer and sacrifice for the cause of his country. The membership card was recognised by Local Governments and the holder of it was accepted as a "friendly alien" by the authorities. If perchance, a member should be taken into custody for an alleged political offence, the League Official of the locality would at once obtain full particulars of the case, and if he is satisfied that there is some misunderstanding, or that

the charge is unfounded, he will set the League machinery moving, for the release of that member.

On that memorable day, the 21st of October, 1943, when the Provisional Government was formed, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took his oath of allegiance to India, to serve her to the last drop of his blood, and as a free Indian, to fight for the liberation of the three hundred and eight millions of his countrymen from serfdom. This ceremony was the climax of that day's proceedings, which were charged with high feelings and emotions. As he proceeded to read aloud his solemn oath, he tried his best to control his emotions, which as he proceeded, got the better of him, till finally, he broke down. Who can say what thoughts passed in his mind?—The picture of the millions of his countrymen who, right at that moment, in a land of plenty, were dying of want and starvation, because their food was being snatched from them to feed the British Army of Occupation? The thousands of India's patriots, who, by fighting for India's life, sacrificed their own? The knowledge that inside India, Indians were daily putting up an unequal yet heroic struggle against foreign domination, with no other weapon, but their will, determination and courage to face the bombs and bullets of a power armed to the teeth? After spending so many years in the service of the country, planning for just this day when, with the backing of all overseas Indians, and under the ægis of the Provisional Government, he was to lead the Army of India's Liberation, did he visualise the travail India will have to go through before final victory is won?

There was not a dry eye in that assembly. The silence was only broken by unrestrainable sobs. The strain was terrific. Suddenly, some one who had a real brainwave, called out the national slogans, and the vast concourse, responded with defeating acclamations. The tension was broken, Netaji recovered his equilibrium, and with a firm voice, finished his sacred oath.

Then, the Ministers and Advisers, one by one stepped up to the Head of State, and took their oath to serve faithfully the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

In the days that followed, the Office-bearers and the staff of the Indian Independence League took their oath of allegiance. In the case of the Office-bearers, mass meetings were called for, in the several centres, and in the presence of all, they took their oath. Thereafter, the members of the Staff and the public, took theirs, at the times and in the places specially arranged for the purpose. Each person received a card, in which was printed the words of the oath, and it bore the signature of the recipient and that of the Official of the League who administered it.

The possessor of this card enjoyed the same privileges, and was required to perform the same duties, that the former membership card entitled him to, with the added right to be known as a free citizen of India.

OTHER MEMORABLE EVENTS

On October 23rd, the Provisional Government, at a Cabinet Meeting, decided to declare War on Britain and the United States of America. The Declaration was broadcast over the League Headquarters' Radio, at Singapore, by the Head of the State at 12-55 a.m. of 24th of October. Within two hours, San Francisco gave out this information over its Radio.

At a mass rally held later in the day, thousands of Indians, who had come from all over Malaya, and the Representatives from all other territories, ratified the Declaration of War with spontaneous acclamations.

The reason for coupling America with Britain in the Declaration was, because the American Government was supporting British Imperialism in India. America sent her troops and her air force to India to bolster the British defensive and offensive measures there against attacks on

British Domination, either from within or from without India. The Provisional Government did not declare war on Russia, although Russia was an ally of Britain, because Russia did not give any direct support to Britain in India. It could be argued that Russia, by allying herself with Britain, helped the latter to retain her Dominion over India. But this would be too remote a cause to justify a Declaration of War against Russia. Even in the latter states of the war in Greater East Asia, when Russia attacked Japan, the Provisional Government did not consider that sufficient reason to declare war on Russia. On the other hand, Russia had indicated her sympathies for India, when Mr. Molotov, the Russian Foreign Minister, declared, at the Washington Security Conference, that Russia would like to hear the voice of Free India at future Conferences. Therefore, though Russia was an ally of Britain, she was not against India's struggle for Independence. Hence, Russia was India's friend and not her enemy.

Normal recognition was accorded to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the following countries and Government :

- October 23rd—Nippon recognised the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.
- October 24th—Provisional Government recognised by Burma.
- October 27th—Croatia recognised the Provisional Government.
- October 29th—Germany recognised the Azad Hind Government.
- November 1st —National Government of China recognised the Azad Hind Government.
- November 1st —Manchoukuo recognised the Provisional Government.
- November 9th—Provisional Government recognised by the Fascist Republic of Italy.

November 19th—Thai Government recognised the Provisional Government.

GOVERNMENT MACHINERY

With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Movement gathered momentum. Other than the Foreign Minister and the Ministers from the Military side, who had their assigned duties, the Ministers of the Government with portfolios such as Propaganda, Manpower, Supplies, Finance, Revenue, Women's Affairs, took over control of the respective Departments of the Headquarters, Indian Independence League. Thereafter, the Secretaries of Departments became the Secretaries to the respective Ministries. For example, Secretary, Finance Department, Indian Independence League Headquarters, was concurrently, the Secretary, Finance Ministry. The Ministers with portfolios prepared and put into execution programmes within the scope of the policies settled by the Government at its Cabinet meetings. They controlled their spheres of activities, and were responsible for their progress. The Secretary to the Government with Ministerial rank, co-ordinated the work of the different Ministries on the one hand, and between the Government and the League Headquarters on the other. He circularised Cabinet Orders and Regulations that were promulgated from time to time, and called for the meetings of the Council of Ministers and Advisers, recorded and kept the Minutes. He prepared and caused the publication of the Government Gazettes.

One of the first concerns of the Council of Ministers and Advisers was to take up the question of planning for the future administration of Indian territories, coming under the Flag of Free India, until such time as the permanent Government was established. When dealing with this important subject, consideration was also given to matters social,

educational, economic, and even those pertaining to food, clothing, customs, and habits in order to place them on a National footing. The purpose was to eradicate all such existing elements that may obstruct in any way the unification of India and its people. Sub-committees of the Council were formed, and their labours received the attention of final approval of the Cabinet. Subsequently, such matters were taken up by the Bureau of National Planning.

The Provisional Government functioned through the Indian Independence League Headquarters, the Branches and Sub-Branchees, which thus became the working centres of the Government, and the Officials and Staff thereof, the servants of the Government. The Indian Independence League, however, continued to retain that name.

When, subsequently, the President, as Head of State and Supreme Commander, became more and more immersed in his duties attached to these latter offices, and with the shifting of the Headquarters of Provisional Government and of the Indian Independence League to Burma, it was found necessary to appoint Vice-Presidents who became Officers-in-Charge of the Headquarters, Indian Independence League and Rear Headquarters I.I.L., respectively. The Vice-Presidents were, as far as possible, relieved of normal routine work, which was attended to by the General Secretaries. Thus they were afforded the time to maintain constant communion with the Branch Organisations, the public and outside bodies. In this way, a better, a full and an ever-improving administration was assured.

The General Secretary of the H.Q., I.I.L., would co-ordinate the work with the Rear Headquarters, by maintaining communications with the General Secretary there. The General Secretaries attended to all routine work, such as incoming and out-going correspondence, the co-ordination of work between the several Departments and generally all such matters that would ensure the smooth and efficient running of the Organisation.

THE GREATER EAST ASIATIC NATIONS' ASSEMBLY

Before the close of 1943, an important meeting of the Nations of East Asia was held in Tokyo. On November 5th, the Assembly of the Greater East Asiatic Nations opened. To this Assembly, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose went as an observer accompanied by Ministers and Army Officers. The fact that Netaji attended the Assembly as an observer, and not as a participator, is very significant. The reason was that the Provisional Government was not prepared to commit itself to any of the decisions that might be arrived at at the Assembly, without the full consent of the Indian people in India.

At this Assembly, Premier Tojo declared Nippon's intention to transfer the Andamans and the Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Subsequently this was fulfilled and these two islands were renamed by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind as "Shaheed" and "Swaraj" respectively, and a Chief Commissioner was appointed by the Azad Hind Government for these islands on the 8th of January, 1945. Before taking over the administration of these islands and making the said appointments Netaji visited these islands personally in the end of December to acquaint himself with the situation there.

No one can deny that conclusions reached at that Assembly was based on high principles of Equity, Justice and Freedom. Decisions such as that the nations should be completely independent from all foreign domination and exploitation and free to develop their own national traits in culture, language and religion as also in the sphere of politics and economics ; that each nation should help the other with the surplus of its natural resources, thus working towards co-prosperity ; that of establishing equality in status with the other nations of the world and so secure peace in the world and goodwill among all mankind ;—such decisions can only

be reached by nations that have long suffered from a denial of these elementary rights and by nations that have the desire for peace and goodwill among all mankind.

Netaji and his suite returned with the firm conviction that there was real sincerity among all those who participated in the Assembly. Furthermore, they were satisfied that Nippon's Ministers and other high Government and Military Officials were moved by the best motives in sponsoring this Assembly, and that they evinced a sincere desire to give every assistance in the fulfilment of the decisions reached.

Unfortunately for all concerned, it cannot be denied that some petty Nippon Officials, posted to positions too big for them, have by their narrow-mindedness behaved like old time feudal lords to the annoyance of the inhabitants of those countries and also to those Nipponese who strove to do the right thing in the right way. However, as far as the Indian Independence Movement was concerned, it never failed to nip in the bud any and every attempt at foolish over-assertiveness on the part of such Nippon officials. Sometimes it was trying. Sometimes too our local officials failed to impress some of the Nipponese officials. But the Movement never let such matters rest there. The Headquarters would take up these matters and eventually things would be set right. Every opportunity was taken to impress upon the mind of the local Nipponese, that we were working for the complete Independence of our Motherland, and that we meant to fight against all opposition regardless of which quarter and in what manner it came.

We could, however, appreciate the local Nipponese officials' difficulties. Particularly in cosmopolitan countries, the strength and solidarity of the Indian Independence Movement were causes for jealousy among other nationals. Our achievements were sometimes misconstrued by them as the result of favouritism. They were nothing of the kind. Other than the fact that the immediate objective of our movement, namely, freeing India from British rule, was in keeping with

the Nipponese desire of destroying British stronghold in India, in the day-to-day work towards achieving Total Mobilisation of men, money and materials, we were clashing with the needs of the Nipponese in their total war efforts. We wanted men for the army as well for the Civil Services ; the Japanese also needed them in the Government services, in the fields and factories, for achieving self-sufficiency and for labour. We received money from the Indians for the sinews of our war ; the Nipponese were therefore forced to curtail their taxational demands from the Indians, as the result of our representations on that behalf. Materials of great utility for our war purposes were donated to our Movement by Indian merchants ; the Nipponese had to concede our moral right to them, though they would have liked to obtain them for their war purposes at any price.

Recognition of these rights were not obtained without a struggle. Even after they were conceded, we had to face opposition from minor Nipponese officials in several localities, who either did not know that such rights had been recognised, or knowing that, would yet not accept the situation without further struggle.

Despite these local difficulties, we had no doubt that the policy of the Nipponese Government towards India was above board. However, our watchword was based on Netaji's utterance made on his first visit to Nippon. "If the British Government could not befool me with its blandishments, no other nation on earth can do." We depended on our strength and unity, conducted our task with dignity, and did not permit undue suspicion to weaken the determination to prosecute the work we had set for ourselves to perform, in the manner and under the conditions the Provisional Government chalked out for the Movement.

AZAD HIND FAUJ

This narrative is reaching that stage immediately before the day the Indian Nation Army launched its offensive in

the Arakan regions in the Indo-Burma border. Contingents of the Indian National Army had been moving up from their bases to the Arakan regions to get set for the zero hour. The Headquarters of the Provisional Government, along with the Headquarters of the Indian Independence League, moved up to Burma on the 7th of January, 1944 in preparation for the coming campaign.

Some passing references have already been made to the I.N.A. It will be gathered from the preceding pages that the primary purpose of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was to launch an armed battle against the British in India. Therefore, it will be seen that all the activities of the Independence Movement centred around this objective.

Direct action was the way to Indian Independence. Hence the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army. The Azad Hind Fauj comprised of former officers and men of the British Indian Army and those recruited from among the local Indians. It is remarkable how little the members of the British Indian Army knew about their country, its needs and aspirations. They knew nothing or next to nothing about India's first War of Independence fought in 1857. The information they had about the Indian National Congress was such that they honestly believed that this national institution retarded the progress of India and its people. They were brought up to think that members of the British Indian Army were superior to all other Indians and therefore they should not sully themselves by associating with Indians, other than those selected to entertain them, in their cantonments and home towns. In a word, they were a separate class, a rigid caste. Brave in the field of battle, hail and hearty and comfortable at all other times, they were cunningly kept ignorant of the pitiable destitution, suffering and death, that was the unfortunate lot of their fellow countrymen.

The true facts were made known to them by conducting an intensive propaganda in the war prisoners camp

where the British Indian Army were interned. They were also told exactly what they were expected to do and what it would mean to them if they should fall into the hands of the British, or if the struggle should fail. Such of those who joined the Indian National Army, did so, knowing full well that for them it was a case of sacrifice all the way through. The only reward would be in the knowledge that they were for the first time serving the real interests of India. Undoubtedly these officers and men who joined were the backbone of the Indian National Army. They were already seasoned soldiers well trained in Army discipline, and were the proud possessors of a tradition, of a courage and of a valour in the battle-field, second to none. They had won their world wide renown, as members of a mercenary army fighting for the British flag. It can better be imagined than described, how they shaped when they were fighting for their own country, their own flag.

Those civilians who joined the colours were a great asset to the Army, because of their freshness, and eagerness to go into action. They were not seasoned soldiers, yet they vied with their more capable brothers-in-arms, in standing up to the rigours of a campaign, always conducted under very adverse circumstances.

In the very early days of the Movement, no doubt, mistakes were made in matters pertaining to the formation and leadership in a desire to achieve things quickly—the over-enthusiasm of the Army as a whole on the one hand, and on the other, sensitiveness to control on the part of the then General Officer Commanding the Indian Army. These were soon put right. Thereafter, the Army was placed on a proper footing, and when Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took over its command, the final touches were put to it.

The Supreme Commander had his Chief-of-Staff, Deputy and Assistant Chiefs-of-Staff. The Supreme Headquarters was divided into several Departments, such as the General Department, the Adjutant and Quartermaster, the Judicial

and Advocate General, the Director of Medical Services with Assistant Directors, the Accounts Branch, Military Police, Intelligence and Social Service Group, the Enlightenment, Culture and Propaganda Departments.

The Supreme Headquarters had its Forward Headquarters and Rear Headquarters. Each Division had its own Headquarters, with all such departments as were necessary for its efficient and smooth operations.

Besides these, there were the various services, such as Supplies, Motor Transport, Workshops, Base Ordnance Depots. Military Engineering Services and Field Park Services. There were also Engineering Companies which had to do work behind the War Zones, to attend to the work of repairs of roads, bridges, etc. The Army had also its Guerilla Regiments, besides the Divisions and their component parts, with Tanks, Armoured Cars and so forth.

THE BATTLE IS LAUNCHED

At last the zero hour was reached on the 4th of February 1944. On that memorable day, India's Army of Liberation commenced its attack on the wild regions of the Arakan Mountains, near the Indo-Burma border. On the same day, Taung Bazaar was occupied. Two days later, Myamiggyan was captured.

After a little over two weeks, the occupation of Saetabin, in the Kaladan Sector, was effected on the 1st of March. This was followed by the taking of Kaladan, on the 5th of March. A few days of intensive combat, and Fort White was reduced on March the 8th. Lanacot was reduced four days later and on the 18th of March, our troops, by occupying Kennedy Peak, were able to see for the first time, since the commencement of the battle, the sacred soil of their Motherland.

The uncontrollable urge to press forward and plant the Tri-colour Flag of Free India on the soil of India was so great, that by the early hours of the morning of the 19th of March,

our belligerent troops were rushing down the hillside, racing with one another to be the first to cross the border and fall prostrate to kiss Mother India. Who can describe the ecstatic joy with which that band of India's Freedom Fighters hoisted the National Flag to the strains of the National Anthem ?

This longed-for news was flashed to all the Territorial Branches of the League, and on the 21st of that month, which was exactly the fifth month of the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, this great occasion was celebrated with eclat by Indians all over East Asia. On this same day, Netaji Subhas Ch. Bose issued the historic proclamation, particularly directed to our countrymen in India. It informed them that the Army of India's Liberation was now fighting on Indian soil, and it called upon all Indians to give every assistance to, and fully co-operate with the Army so that British Imperialism in India be overthrown.

In amplification of this Proclamation Netaji outlined the two-fold duty of all Indians, inside and outside India. The first duty was to prosecute the war without a let up, until the British were driven out of India. To achieve this aim, the Indian National Army should be assisted by a constant flow of men and other sinews of war, from Indians outside India ; and within India, by insurrection and sabotage by civilians, and mutiny and desertion by the British Indian Army. The second duty was to reorganize the liberated areas, restore peace and order, and eventually set up the Permanent Government of Azad Hind. For this end, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind had organised the Azad Hind Dal. Its work was to help bring cosmos out of chaos, in the liberated areas. More men were needed for this work. From Indians of the liberated areas, the Azad Hind Dal expected co-operation from the masses. It also expected local administrators to take up their duties under the Provisional Government and help reconstruct a Permanent Government of Free India.

The entry into India was also made by the Japanese

troops. The Japanese evidently realised that it would be appropriate to make a statement on this important occasion, a statement which would serve the purpose of a re-assurance to the Indian Independence Movement outside India as also to Indians inside India, and at the same time a direction to the Japanese Military, who were fighting as an ally of our Army. Hence the following declaration of Premier Tojo when he addressed the Diet on the 22nd of March. "It is natural that all areas over which the Indian National Army marches within India, must be placed completely under the administration of the Provisional Government".

In the meantime, the Battle for India was going on. India's Army of Liberation made several thrusts across the Indo-Burma border into India. From East to West, towards Kohima, Imphal, Palel ; from South to North towards Palel and to the rear of Imphal ; and further South, from East to West, towards Akyab.

On March 20th, Taungzan was captured, and Ukrul was occupied on March 21st. Tiddim was taken on March 22nd and on the same day Mollon was reduced. On March 24 Sanghak was captured. Mores fell on the last day of March, and both Tammu and Kbau were occupied on the 1st of April. On the 5th April, Hengtam was captured. Kohima was, after protracted fighting, captured on the 6th of April. Kangratonggi was reduced on the 7th of April. Moirang was occupied on April the 18th. On April the 20th both Paletwa and Tengnoupal were taken. On May the 7th the Indian National Army crossed the Indo-Burma border into India from the South.

CONDITIONS OF FIGHTING

• It will be well to pause at this stage and consider for a moment the conditions under which this Second War of Indian Independence was waged. This war was declared by the Provisional Government of Free India, established outside India and launched, without being able to secure the

enormous resources within India. Despite the great sacrifices made for the cause of India's War of Liberation under the slogans of "Total Mobilisation" and *Chalo Delhi*, the requirements for the conduct of this war during the first and therefore most difficult stage of the battle, could only be realised from a small percentage of the four hundred million people that go by the name of Indians.

However, until such time as the Indian National Army could get far enough into India so as to effect a revolution within India, and also be in a position to tap the resources of India for its war purposes, it was prepared to fight under conditions which no other Army would have had the courage to accept.

An Army would want to be assured of its supply of arms and ammunitions in such quantities that not only are the fighting units given the regulation amounts, but that there are further reserves in order to cope with exigencies, with special consideration given for losses due to enemy action. There is a well known truism that an Army moves on its stomach. An Army always gets more rations than civilians, on the basis that the Army, having always to be mobile, will have to expend more energy than civilians. An Officer would never order his men to go into battle without first taking all such measures as would assure, that much of safety, comfort and welfare of his men as are compatible with fighting condition. But the Indian National Army knew perfectly well, when it embarked on his historic and heroic march across the Indo-Burma Border, that despite the efforts of the civilians to give it the requisite arms, ammunitions, food and medical aid, it would have to perform its glorious task with the barest of minimum in these necessities. Therefore it will be seen that normally an Army would want to be assured of its supplies, transport facilities and medical aid, with the attendant huge staff work that all this would entail before embarking on a venture, be it that of ordinary patrolling work or that of a frontal attack.

The Officers of the Indian National Army could only promise their men dangers, discomforts and privations. Yet the men willingly obeyed the orders because they saw for themselves their officers sharing the same privations, discomforts and dangers. They noticed no difference whatsoever between themselves and those placed in command, other than the badges of ranks.

And so the valiant Indian National Army bravely pressed forward, through difficult terrain, not caring for even bare necessities, but, urged on to deeds of great valour, by the spirit of pure patriotism and self-sacrifice. For the first time in nearly a hundred years, an Indian Army, officered and commanded by Indians, fought under its own banner, the National Flag of Free India. It has its own task to perform and its own Front to defend or to use as a base for offensive action, in an otherwise common strategy with its ally the Nipponese, to fight and defeat the common enemy.

One has to know the topography of the country that comprise the region of Indo-Burma border, in order to properly understand and appreciate the courage, stamina, discipline and withal, the firm determination of the Azad Hind Fauj, supplied as it was, with the barest of minimum requirements, for it to have succeeded in crossing the border into Eastern India. Then, behind them, was No Man's Land, through which supplies could hardly find their way even in such quantities as to meet bare necessities. In front of them were the strong fortifications of the British. The enemy, realising the straits in which our forces were, made attacks without a respite, by air, heavy arms, and ground forces. But they could not dislodge our armed forces, much less stem the steady advance. The British even admitted that the fall of their last stronghold in the Eastern Border of India—Imphal, was imminent. Men, Arms, Ammunitions and Supplies were rushed into Imphal by air, because land routes were cut off by our side.

It finally resolved itself into a siege, in which British

with their Supplies assured, managed to keep up their defensive positions against our Armed Forces which, despite depleting supplies in arms, ammunitions and food, kept up a relentless offensive. But the rains came. What the British could not do, the monsoon succeeded in effecting. Our Armed Forces were forced to retrace their steps through the No Man's Land of the Indo Burma border. The hitherto slowly trickling supplies that crossed this border to the fighting fronts, were now completely cut off, as a result of the ceaseless rains, which flooded the roads and washed away the bridges.

THE RETREAT

Hungry and footsore, with their encampments, supplies, transport, arms and ammunitions washed away by suddenly spreading torrential streams dashing down hillside, and flooding up valleys, the Indian National Army trudged its painful way back to bases in Burma. When they turned their backs to India, there was no enemy following them. The outbreak of the monsoons was the sole cause of this forced retreat. Many of them walked hundreds of miles without a morsel of food for days on end. Yet when they were asked by their equally fatigued and suffering officers what they desired, they just looked up with sunken, glazed eyes and with a 'Jai Hind', walked on their weary way. Despite all these untold hardships, their morale never broke, the discipline remained high. In a word, the retreat was orderly. They had all experienced the indescribable joy of stepping on to Indian soil, as freedom fighters. They had crossed swords with the enemy and found that he was invincible notwithstanding his superior material and numerical strength. They knew that it was the monsoons that cut off their supplies and so prevented them from pressing forward. Hence they were, one and all, most anxious to recover sufficiently from the privations and fatigue they had undergone, as soon as possible, in order to go forward once again.

Nor was the Home Front demoralised by this set-back. On the other hand, the people redoubled their efforts to enable the Azad Hind Fauj to be better prepared for the next offensive. Unfortunately the war situation for the Japanese in the other theatres was deteriorating, whilst there was enforced lull in the Burma Front, owing to the monsoons. In Europe, the Anglo-Americans had effected a landing in the north of France on the 5th of June. After long and bitter fighting, the Germans were forced to retreat. The Russians in the Eastern Front also forced the Germans to retreat.

However, it was not the War in Europe that affected our plan of action. It was the successes of the American Naval and Air Forces in the Pacific theatre that had a direct bearing on the Burma Front, and therefore, on our struggle. The landing of American troops on Leyte Island of the Philippines Group, on October the 20th, 1944, and their subsequent landings on other points of the same Group, caused the withdrawal of practically the whole of the Air Force from the Burma bases to the Pacific War Zone. Therefore, with practically complete mastery of the Air, the British Armed Forces were able to move into Burma. The battle for Mandalay was fought for some months, before it finally fell into the hands of the invading forces.

Yet, during all these anxious days, the Indians kept up their courage. Their desire to serve the cause of India did not wane. This was clearly indicated in many ways. As for example, on the occasion of Netaji's birthday which fell on the 23rd January, 1945, the opportunity was taken by all Indians throughout East Asia, to show their confidence in the Leader, and their desire to continue to do all in their power to further the cause of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Although Netaji himself expressed a wish that his birthday should not be celebrated, yet the popular demand had to be acceded to. From the 1st of January, a special drive was made for Total Mobilisation, and the people

responded most heartily. They expressed their love for their Leader and enthusiasm for the Cause in a practical and tangible manner. Remarkable results were achieved by the 23rd when the total was presented to Netaji as a birthday gift for the furtherance of the Cause. The coffers of the Government, as well as the Supply Depots, were greatly replenished, and the Training Camps received fresh recruits. There were even some volunteers of both sexes, who offered themselves for service in what may be termed 'suicide squads'.

To take another example, on the 11th of February, 1945, the enemy made a cowardly attack on the Meyang Hospital in Rangoon, with incendiaries and heavy calibre bombs. This was an Indian National Army Base Hospital. As a result of the bombing, the Hospital was completely demolished and hundreds perished. It was a Sunday. There were a number of civilians besides Army personnel, who were in the premises at the time, they having gone there, to visit the sick and wounded. The Indian public was greatly shocked by this catastrophe. Some Indians were in the thick of it. Some suffered injuries as a result of this attack and some others died. There was no necessity to tell the people what had to be done about it. An Intiquam Committee was formed, to raise funds for the establishment of another Hospital with all the paraphernalia. Within two days of the formation of this Committee, the women formed their own Intiquam Committee on the 16th of February. The collected bedsteads, mattresses, blankets, sheets, pillows, cloth, clothes and a lot of other odds and ends that are necessary for the comfort of the sick and wounded.

In the meantime, fresh troops of the Indian National Army had gone to the Fronts. The Supply Ministry, in conjunction with the Quarter Master General of the Indian National Army, worked on new and better plans to build up reserves of Supplies, maintain Supply Depots at strategic points, and feeders for them. New and better means of Transport and Communications were introduced, in order

to ensure that the demand of the Army at the several fighting fronts were, in the first instance, communicated in good time, and in the second place, the supplies, as requisitioned, reached their destinations.

But the tide has turned against us. Germany was overrun by the Allied Powers. In the Pacific, Japan was fully occupied, and steadily losing ground before the onslaught of the American Naval and Air Forces. America had, after bitter fighting, secured bases close enough to the mainland of Japan to be able to conduct daily raids, on all vital points.

Then, in Burma, besides the fact that the Japanese Armed Forces were battling against overwhelming odds, without an Air Arm to support their ground forces, a part of the Burmese National Army revolted against the Burmese Government and fought against their own troops, the Japanese, and generally indulged in armed dacoity. It may be mentioned here, to the credit of the Indian National Army, that wherever units of this Army camped on their way to the fighting fronts, or established bases, the villagers would, if they had previously gone into hiding in the jungles, for fears of dacoits and others, return to their villages, secure in the knowledge that they will be protected by the Indian National Army.

But the greatest blow to India's Army of Liberation was in the afflicting knowledge that their opposing Army was mainly comprised of Indians. On many an occasion, members of the British Indian Army, moved by the noble work the Indian National Army was doing, came over to our side, with the intention of fighting shoulder to shoulder with their brothers in the Azad Hind Fauj. Many did so. But some others, seeing the condition under which the Revolutionary Army was fighting, could not muster sufficient spirit and determination to sacrifice the comforts, and plenty that was theirs in the British Indian Army.

So they came in their tens of thousands, fully equipped, with an umbrella of high-powered planes above them, tanks

preceding them, convoys of fresh troops and supplies following them. They had evidently somehow succeeded in stifling their conscience, and so came on to fight their own brothers who were already battling against great odds, for what was, after all, a common cause—a Free and Independent India.

They fought, as always, with courage and valour. They overcame, step by step, all the determined resistance that the heroic band of India's Patriotic Army of Liberation could put up, in conjunction with Nippon Armed Forces.

GENERAL EVACUATION FROM BURMA

The time at last arrived, when the seat of the Azad Hind Government had to be moved from Rangoon. This decision was forced upon us, because, there was a sudden breakthrough from Pilminya towards Pegu and Rangoon. The Head of the State issued necessary orders to the units of the Indian National Army which were still fighting in various sectors. Rangoon itself was left virtually in the hands of the Indian National Army. At the time the British evacuated from Rangoon in 1942, the city and its inhabitants were left to the tender mercies of murderers and dacoits, thieves and looters. Not so in 1945. Peace and order was maintained by detachments of the Indian National Army patrolling the streets in the capacity of Military Police, so that the inhabitants, regardless of nationality, could live in reasonable security until such time that the invading forces took over charge. Indians suffered great hardships and loss of life and property in 1942. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind saw to it that such tragedies did not occur this time.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had, in several ways, in the course of the movement, shown that he was a true leader of men. But his genius was best demonstrated during these most trying days. He could very well have left Burma for Thailand by aeroplane, after necessary orders for the proper

evacuation of the others. But that was not his way of doing things. He knew that the enemy was already nearing Pegu, through which town evacuees by the land route from Rangoon, through Thailand via Martaban, must proceed. But this knowledge did not deter him from remaining till even the eleventh hour, in order to personally supervise the execution of his orders by those who were to remain behind. This done, he led the evacuees himself. He also knew beforehand that the land route was pregnant with dangers from dacoits, that enemy planes were patrolling the roads throughout the day time, and that in many places the bridges were smashed up so that it would mean long night route marches. Yet he chose to share the dangers, trials and privations with the rest of us. Those who had the good fortune to be with him during the 21 days that took the party to reach Bangkok, obtained an insight into the several great qualities of mind and heart, which go to make the personality of the man, under whose leadership Indians in East Asia gladly toiled, sacrificed and died for the cause of India. Despite the disappointments that must have been eating into his vitals, he kept up a cheerful countenance. He constantly inquired after the welfare of one and all, regardless of rank and position, and so kept up the spirits of the party through the tedious night marches, or in the clanking goods wagons, or under the hail of enemy bombing and straffing attacks.

Thus we reached Bangkok, only to learn that Germany had capitulated, Hitler was dead, and so was Mussolini, and Rangoon had fallen. However, no time was lost to set up the Headquarters of the Government and that of the Indian Independence League in Bangkok. Search parties were sent in different directions towards Burma to contact units of the Indian National Army that were fighting their way back into Thailand, in order to regroup for the next phase of the battle.

Meetings of the Council of Ministers and Advisers were held to consider the new situation, and the steps to be taken

therefor. The world war situation was reviewed, the pros and cons were considered, and the decision was finally reached that we must carry on the fight to the last man and to the last round, in order to keep the Indian issue alive before the world. *Delhi Chalo* was still the war cry. Total Mobilisation was still the slogan.

Then came the news of the release of the members of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and Lord Wavell's offer. This was followed by the fixing of the date of Simla Conference which leaders of the Indian National Congress had decided to attend. This was a matter that could not be passed over without full and careful consideration by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Hence a meeting of the Council of Ministers was held, and after long deliberation, important decisions were reached, and subsequently published in the form of a *Communique*. It reads as follows :—

A meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, presided over by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, was held on the 16th June 1945, to consider the Indian Situation. The latest reports available through Japanese, British and American news agencies were placed before the Council. In particular, the Council considered the speeches of Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery as well as the opinions reported to have been expressed by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and other leaders, and the comments made by all sections of the Indian press.

After a lengthy discussion, the Council of Ministers unanimously arrived at the following conclusions :—

(1) The offer made by Lord Wavell was in essence and in substance the same offer as made by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942 which was then rejected by the Congress.

(2) The immediate motive behind the present offer was to take the advantage of the military successes achieved by the Anglo-Americans in Europe and in Burma and to mobi-

lise India's support for Britain's Imperialist War in future, in regions beyond Burma as well as in the Pacific.

(3) In the view of the Council Ministers there was also a deeper motive underlying the offer of Lord Wavell. From the proceedings of the San Francisco Conference it was apparent to the British Government that other nations such as Soviet Russia might in future advocate the cause of India's Independence. The British Government therefore, considered it prudent to forestall and preclude such foreign support to India's Independence by inducing the Indian people to accept a compromise which fell far short of India's National demand. ,

(4) Acceptance of the offer would automatically involve whole-hearted participation in Britain's Imperialist War which would completely nullify the stand consistently taken by the Congress since September 1939.

(5) Acceptance of the offer would mean political suicide for the Congress, inasmuch as the Congress would reduce itself to the position of an ordinary party among other parties in India, thereby voluntarily giving up its position as representative of the Indian masses.

(6) The Council of Ministers was emphatically of opinion that in spite of the recent military successes of the Anglo-Americans, the Indian issue had become a live issue for the whole world and India's demand for Independence was drawing more and more sympathy and support of public opinion all over the world, including Soviet Russia.

(7) The Council of Ministers was also of the opinion that the sympathy of public opinion all over the world would make itself heard in all International Conferences in the future and would be a great help to India in her struggle for Independence.

(8) A compromise with British Imperialism would convert the Indian issue into a domestic issue of the British Empire and would thereby deprive India of sympathy and

support of world opinion and would render it difficult, if not impossible, for friendly nations to intercede in support of India's Independence.

(9) The Council of Ministers was also of the opinion that in spite of the recent military successes of the Anglo-American powers, India had been making rapid progress towards her goal of Independence. If the Indian people continued their resistance to British Imperialism, with all the moral and material means at their disposal, there was no doubt that India would emerge as an Independent State by the end of this War.

(10) Being in a position to take a more objective view of the entire world situation that was possible for Indians within India, the Council of Ministers earnestly appealed to Mahatma Gandhi, to the President and members of the Working Committee of the Congress and to the millions of Indian men and women who stand firmly behind the Congress to reject the offer of Lord Wavell.

(11) Being convinced that the freedom of India would come, not through compromise with British Imperialism, but through moral resistance and armed struggle, the Council of Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was firmly resolved to continue the struggle for India's Liberation launched on the 4th of February 1944, regardless of whether any Indian or Indians came forward to accept Lord Wavell's offer.

It was, however, realised that the Conference would go on. Therefore it was felt that a persistent attack should be made right up to the last day of the Conference, exposing all other defects inherent in the offer and the snares that were being laid to entrap National India. The method of this attack was to comment upon those aspects of the Simla deliberations as reported from time to time over the radio. To this end, the further decision of the Council of Ministers was: "The Council of Ministers further authorise Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to issue any further statement or state-

ments that might be necessary in order to expose the other obnoxious features of Lord Wavell's offer."

The subsequent attacks made by Netaji from day to day, over the radio from Singapore, followed by a repeat from the Saigon radio must have, in no small measure, helped in bringing about the failure of the Simla Conference.

CONCLUSION

The end of the War in East Asia came suddenly. With that, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was rendered devoid of a base for its operations. There was no other alternative but to admit that the open and declared purpose of the movement under the ægis of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind could not be carried out. This chapter was closed. But we are convinced that what has been achieved in those few years can never be eradicated, not by diplomacy, not by cunning kindness, and last of all by reprisals.

Indians in East Asia have become politically conscious. They have learnt to think and act, not for selfish motives, but for a common cause. They have known that indescribable inner joy, which can only be experienced by those who have suffered and sacrificed for their country. The bogey Indians in East Asia might have entertained in the past that Indians are not fit to govern their own country, has not been exploded once and for all. Indian women have broadened their outlook and have found their rightful place by the side of their menfolk after grasping the full significance of the movement. Children now know much more about India, its leaders and heroes, than many an adult knew before the advent of the Indian Independence Movement. The youth have learnt discipline, and they know what India expects of them. All have learnt to greet each other, normally and naturally, with the words *Jai Hind*.

These are the legacies of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. These cannot be taken away from its millions of legatees. The shock of defeat and the presence of their

former dominators may cause the people to remain quiet for the time being. But that should not deceive anybody, least of all the British rulers. The people will come forward and claim their right to be free citizens of a Free India. The paradox of treating Indian nationalists as traitors to their country, is something which will not be tolerated. Neither can interested parties succeed in proving, without resorting to underhand or illegal means, such as procuring witnesses, that the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia was a puppet Movement, initiated and controlled by the Japanese.

Whatever may be said of the Japanese, there is this one factor that has to be recognised, with a sense of gratitude by the Asiatics and with grave concern by those powers which are still determined to dominate the countries which they have re-conquered, that the Japanese have, by fighting and at one time declaring the Western Powers, shown the Asiatics that they are in no way inferior to the peoples of the West. The Independence of the Philippines, Burma, Indonesia and Indo-China were declared. It might be asserted that such declarations were the outcome of necessity ; that they were just propaganda stunts. Again, it may be argued that these countries did not enjoy true freedom. Even so, what of that ? The peoples of these countries did not take over the administration. The Asiatics have learnt many things. The young men took up arms. The children learnt something about their own country, its language, culture and the lives of its national heroes, instead of studying the history, the customs, habits and the exploits of heroes of the countries that had dominated them. They also learnt to think and act for themselves. The hard lessons of these few years have taught them not to trust any nation that claims any supervisory control or sphere of influence over theirs. The peoples of Asia have suffered acutely during this World War No. 2. But all this suffering, further accentuated by the often crude methods of the Japanese, has knocked out every vestige of softness and weakness.

Whether it was for war purposes, or for self-sufficiency, the peoples had to get down to real solid work. It was no kid-gloved business. As they worked under great hardships and privations, and as the youth were given training in arms and in discipline for the protection of their Motherland, the leaders, even if they entertained doubts about the bonafides of the Japanese, took the opportunity to lay strong foundations for their respective national strength and unity. Should the Japanese have won this war, there is no doubt that Asiatic Nations would have fought Japan, if the latter did not faithfully carry out the decisions reached at the Greater East Asia Conference. It is for the same reason that now, with victory for the Allied Nations, the Asiatic peoples are resisting any and every attempt at the re-establishment of pre-war alien rule, in whatsoever form.

In this phase of resistance to alien control of Asiatic Nations, India is in a most unhappy position. With a deliberate, set plan, the victorious Allied Nations have agreed to allow one of their members—England—to force Indian troops to destroy the national ambitions of fellow Asiatic Nations. A dominated but freedom-aspiring Asiatic Nation—India—is thus made to suppress other dominated but freedom-aspiring nations. The policy of divide and rule, deliberately espoused within respective Asiatic dominated nations before the war, is now cold-bloodedly planned and executed as between one Asiatic Nation and another. By this plan, in so far as its ramifications concerned India, two birds were being killed with one stone, firstly, Indian troops were removed from their country, so that they would not be affected by the Nationalist Movement in India. Secondly, the furtherance of friction and animosity among Asiatic peoples, was being fostered. Why should not the British troops take up this task in Asia, and move Indian troops to maintain law and order in non-Asiatic countries? And, more to the point, if the Indian Army was really a Vountary Force,

did the personnel of this Volunteer Force volunteer to perform this task, which is embarrassing to India?

The world is sick and tired of War. This is particularly true of Indians and other Asiatics. We have been the pawn in all wars. We have suffered both ways. Our countries are exploited in peace time, and our peoples are made to fight and die in times of war, which are not of their own making. India and the other peoples of Asia desire to be left in peace, to reconstruct their homes and home-lands. World War No. 2 has ended, leaving for Great Powers with the power to disturb the peace of the world at will, by preventing in the name of Democracy, Freedom and Civilisation, the so-called weaker Nations, from settling down to a reign of true Democracy, Freedom and Civilisation.

So long as platitudes are indulged in, and the root causes of war are not frankly and courageously and humbly admitted, so long will the weaker nations resist attempts at the re-establishment of domination or spheres of control and influence, the Atomic Bomb notwithstanding.

New laws for the governance of international relationships are being formulated by the Powers that have the might to enforce them. Possibly, by the trials of War Criminals, new precedents in International Criminal Law will be created—again by the Powers that have the might to create them. Only the Nations that have resisted the Big Powers' manipulations in diplomacy, high finance, trade relationships, greed and covetiousness, have to be the scapegoats, by facing charges as War Criminals. These manipulations, either covertly carried out against nations that are strong, but for other selfish reasons, are considered undesirable; or openly put into effect against those that are weak—such manipulations are conveniently not considered as the real causes of War, and such manipulators are not charged as the real War Criminals.

There can be no doubt that, should these points be raised before the august judges who try the scapegoats of

World War No. 2, they will decide according to the Law of Evidence, that these causes are too remote to be admitted in evidence ; that by the right of prescription, the territories inhabited by peoples other than Europeans are the properties of the stronger Nations ; or again, that by laches, the subject peoples have forfeited their right to govern their countries ! Who is to dispute such lame findings, which, however, have the forces of law behind them ? The voice of weaker dominated peoples, if it should be raised, will be drowned by the crack of rifles, the staccato notes of machine-guns, the boom of big guns and the crash of bombs. Is it any wonder then, that, in desperation, the flower of these weaker Nations, resort to violence, risking death, although all their youth and vitality is crying out for their God-given right to live in peace and harmony with the rest of mankind ?

It now remains to be seen which Power of Combination of Powers that are dictating the future of the world, will have the courage based on morality, to dare any other World Power, or Powers, to continue the domination of peoples by peoples. However, at present, all that one can witness is that Imperialist Nations are supporting one another in their Imperialistic Policies, and the remarkable fact of such support is that it is given on the ground of Moral Duty by one Imperialist Power to another !

Even meanings of words can be changed to suit the needs of the Power Politics ! Most definitely this is not Civilisation, as we, the unfortunate down-trodden peoples of the world, know it.

And, as for Moral Duty, Indians have yet to perform theirs—namely, the Moral Duty to see that all the peoples who are now dominated are freed of their yoke. It was India, by allowing herself to be played out by the British East India Company into a status of a subject nation, that has shown the way to other so-called Trading Companies, to blossom out into full-fledged conquerors of vast territories in Asia and in Africa. So that the performance of this duty

can become an accomplished fact, we must concentrate on at least two matters of cardinal importance : (1) There should be no let up in the struggle for Complete Independence, and (2) India should prevent, at all cost, her nationals from being used for the purpose of suppressing the nations of other countries.

On these fundamental issues, India can depend upon the unity and solidarity of Indians in East Asia, who owe their enlightenment and determination to the remarkable leadership of one of India's greatest sons for all time—Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Despite the trials and tribulations the participators of this great Indian Independence Movement in East Asia are to suffer, there is one consolation—nay, matter for joy, to the participators—and that is, that our countrymen, without exception, are satisfied, that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind decided upon a course of action, most appropriate to the surrounding circumstances and opportunities, solely for the purpose of realising India's complete and immediate Independence, free from any foreign control, domination or influence of whatsoever nature, and that this Government was actuated by pure, unadulterated patriotism.

This is most clearly demonstrated from the fact that a Defence Committee has been set up, fostered by and consisting of men of every shade of political opinion, who are pledged to do all in their power to urge the righteousness of our conduct and actions. There can be no other interpretation. Therefore, whatever may be the opinion of other nations and peoples we have no cause for regrets for our conduct and actions.

There is no doubt, that we owe all this to the person and personality of the leader—Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose—whose unassailable character, whose uncompromising stand for India's true Goal, whose self-sacrificing spirit for its attainment, have evoked the best in his co-workers and adherents

in East Asia, and the obvious admiration of his countrymen in India.

It is reported that he is no more. If this is so, it would be idle to say may his soul rest in peace, for it will know no rest, until that which was his life-long mission is attained—a Completely Independent India.*

Hanoi, 21-10-45.

* The previously published copy of the above article is in the National Archives of India, handed over there for preservation by our Prime Minister Sri Jawaharlal Nehru.

Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu

By Shri Hemendra Prasad Ghose*

As an humble member of the class who wrought for the freedom of India from foreign domination, I rejoice that I have lived to see that domination crumble to pieces and yield place to self-rule however crippled. I stand before you with the right of eighty-three years on my back and as I look across the years since 1905, I am reminded of the stirring times which produced heroes who were every ready to sacrifice themselves for the freedom of the country. When the disruptive tendencies of a decaying dynasty of Moslems came to an end, new actors appeared on the stage—the English became the rulers through the help of conspiracy and forgery. But peace descended on the distracted country and brought about a renaissance. The desire for freedom became a passion. Only three years after the Sepoy revolt Bengal launched a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation. The Ilbert Bill agitation made Mr. A. C. Hume, a member of the Indian Civil Service, organise the Indian National Congress in 1885 as a safety-valve for the preservation of British rule in India. For about twenty years the so-called constitutional agitation went on. It created a sense of nationalism and a consciousness of collective responsibility. But “impatient idealists” who were eager patriots could not be satisfied with what Sri Aurobindo has called “inoffensive philanthropic patriotism”. The physical force movement was born. The people were in flaming courage, in resolve at white heat, and above all, in revolt against false and sentimental advisers. Gone were the soothing dope, the prattle of the so-called “reforms” in the administration, the cloying treasure of faith

* Since the above article was written, the writer, the doyen of Indian journalism, has passed away.

in the ultimate sense of justice of the British people with which the Moderates had deluged the nation for twenty years. Swift was the reversion to things—elemental beyond speech—beyond imagination.

This new movement produced not prattlers but heroes. And Rash Behari was one of them. There are great personalities who march through history with voices like a clarion trumpet and something like the glitter of swords in their hands. And surely Rash Behari was one of them. His exploits were stranger than fiction. He worked in India in various provinces successfully baffling the attempts of the police to arrest him even when the Government declared a big reward for his arrest. And then, finding it difficult to work in India for India's freedom he, like Nétaji Subhas Chandra Bose after him, left India to work under alien stars for her freedom. He used a false passport, eluded the attention of the police and went to Japan. There also he was in danger and had to remain underground for about eight years, helped by some noble Japanese and the great Japanese lady who ultimately became his wife and co-worker. To-day we pay our tribute of respect to her who was a living shield to him during the long period of his danger.

Rash Behari was always working and working for India. He organised the Indian Independence League and first raised the cry "Asia for Asians".

Ingratitude thy name is man. How we forget the name our pioneers! Connolly, the Irish poet, patriot and martyr has written—researches in Ireland "have been able to reveal in their true colours of infamy many who had posed in the limelight for more than a generation as whole-souled patriots and reformers". In the case of our pioneers also research reveals how they had done what people do not know. Thanks to the machinations of the British and the indifference of our countrymen, we have failed to recognise the services rendered by Rash Behari to the cause of Indian independence and to that of Asia. It is only when true history of the struggle

for freedom would be written that posterity would see the real structure of this hero who could snatch victory from the jaws of danger—how there was a defiant air of immortality about him which kept the enemy at bay.

In thinking of Rash Behari's long arduous work for Indian Independence we are reminded of the last words in the journal of Captain Dubark of the French Army the evening before his death in action—"To th elast breath of our lives, to the last child of our motherland, to the last stone of our dwellings, all is thine, my Country ! Make no hurry. Choose thine own time to strike. If thou needest months, we will fight for months, if thou needest years, we will fight for years, the children of to-day shall be the soldiers to-morrow."

"....Accept the gift I make thee of my strength, my hopes, my joys and my sorrows, of all my being filled with passion of thee. Pardon thy children their errors of past days. Cover them with thy glory—put them to sleep in thy flag. Rise victorious and renewed upon their graves."

Rash Behari knew that "Love has a place in politics, but it is the love of one's country, for one's countrymen, for the glory, greatness and happiness of the race, the divine *Ananda* of self-immolation for one's fellows, the ecstasy of relieving their sufferings, the joy of seeing blood for blood for the country and freedom, the bliss of union in death with the fetters of the race".

He waited long seeing the opportunity which came at last with the Global War in which Japan arrayed itself against the English. Not a day he lost to take the fullest advantage of the opportunity. He mobilised his forces. He had been watching with unerring eyes the work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and feeling the infirmities of age creeping upon himself invited Subhas to take full charge of the organisation. Subhas met him at Singapore on the 4th July 1943 when Rash Behari formally made over the command to Subhas Chandra, who said, "Mr. Rash Behari Bose, the

representative of all India Independence Movement in the East, I am deeply grateful that you have appointed me as the leader of the Independence Movement. I accept this responsibility."

Rash Behari retired satisfied. Over every glorious culmination hovers the thunder-cloud with lightning in its bosom ready to strike and to destroy. But for Rash Behari coming events had cast their shadows before, and he died satisfied that the future of India was flashed with its radiance of a New India.

"It is easy enough, after the ramparts are carried to find men to plant the flag on the highest tower, the difficulty is to find men who are ready to go first into the breach ; and it would be a sad policy indeed to insult their services because they fell in the breach and did not live to penetrate to the citadel."

The National Flag of India was unfurled in the Red Fort of Delhi not by Rash Behari or by Subhas. That is our misfortune. But they will always speak to the nation trumpet-tongued even from the silence of the grave. To-day we remember Rash Behari who was "one of those who foremost fighting fell" leaving an example for Indians to emulate. We say as Rash Behari and Subhas would have said.

"God gives us peace not such as bells
to sleep ;
But sword on thigh and brow with
purpose knit
And let our ship of State to the
harbour sweep
Her ports all up, her battle-lanterns
lit
And her thunders gathering
for their leap".

In paying our homage to Rash Behari we say what Abraham Lincoln said on a memorable occasion :—

"From these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that Cause for which they gave their last full measure of devotion."

TWO REBELS MEET

By Dr. Bhagawan Singh Gyani (Pritam)

I am indeed reasonably proud to write about a great patriotic and a brave soldier of revolution—Shri Rashbehari Basu who inspired all of us and did so much for our freedom's struggle both from within and without our land.

A patriot, because in him we find the burning love of his country and nation uppermost in his mind and heart—over and above everything else, himself, family, religion, interests and comforts.

A soldier, because he was highly disciplined, fearless, resourceful, undaunted by obstacles, even treachery and betrayal. The history of his daring deed and defiance of the majesty of the greatest Imperial power of the century, will be made available to the general public in the Commemoration Volume to which mine is a short monograph replete with sweet reminiscences.

The 20th Century is a unique century in the history of the world. It is a "Century of Revolutions". In the short span of sixty years, during our own life-time, the Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, Manchu, Russian, German and last but not least, British Empire have disappeared. The World Wars have occurred within a thirty-year period and Republics have taken the place of kingdoms, with changes so revolutionary that those of us who have passed through the turmoil and taken active part in it, could not have dreamed it possible.

In the realms of science, technology, transportation and communication changes are constantly taking place, a fact apparent to all. The universe in which we live is vibrant,

dynamic, self-sustained, self-sufficient, ever changing and improving in the light of experience.

Revolutionary individuals are rare and of the following categories :-

1. There are those who rebel against conditions and environments—personal, social, economic and natural. They complain, whine and grumble and even occasionally protest, refusing to go along with the established order. Under pressure, however, they will compromise, give up the struggle, submit and follow the crowd.

2. There are revolutionaries who are made of sterner stuff. They are ready and willing to suffer and sacrifice whether for an ideal, for the country or a deep conviction. They seldom, if ever, are discouraged and usually work alone or in small circles.

3. There are revolutionaries who are sages in their perceptions and scientific in their attitude and genius in organising. They construct a clear pattern of a new nation, they possess a unique capacity for fashioning the social order, step by step, as they go along. They work together, co-ordinate their plans and benefit from each other's association. They learn in the light of their own mistakes and particularly by the mistakes of others and they do not hesitate to alter or modify their plans if by so doing they may realise their objective with dignity, efficiency and ease. They possess a volatile personality, adaptable to any condition and always move ahead in spite of obstacles.

Our Shri Rashbehari Basu belonged to this category of revolutionists.

We had the good fortune of meeting and knowing each other in July of 1915 at Yokohama, Japan. It was an unexpected and unplanned occasion for both of us. We were individually invited to an evening social given by Sindhi merchants of that city. There were eight or nine Indian firms of Sindhi Seths in the silk export and import business

located in Japan at that time. I had met most of them during my three years' stay as Granthi of Central Gurdwara at Hong Kong from 1910 to 1913, and many had heard my lectures. Some were even members of the Executive Committee of the Sikh Temple. Most of our countrymen going to Central, North and South Americas, the Philippines, Japan China had to pass through Hong Kong and while waiting for their transportation stayed at the Temple. My activities were known to them. In fact, I was well known throughout South Asia as well as Japan and China. Twice while at Hong Kong, once in 1911 and again in 1912, I had been arrested for preaching sedition and more recently my enforced deportation from Canada in November of 1913 had been internationally publicised.

I was generally known under my own name, Bhai Bhagawan Singh. But at this particular time, being favoured by a constant Japanese-secret-police-escort at the request of the British Embassy, I had adopted the name of "Jaimal, silk merchant of Kobe" and was thus introduced that evening to one "Mr. Thakur", from Bengal, a young medical student proceeding to the United States of America to continue his studies. Once dinner over, we formed separate groups and our young medical student gravitated to ours. I was both interested and curious about him ; interested, because he, being a student, might be able to give me the correct information of what was going on inside India. I was hungry for first-hand news. Already seven years had elapsed since my enforced departure from India. Curious, because strangely enough, he was wearing both gloves and socks.

The conversation centred upon international affairs. My being in Japan at this time was in the official capacity of Commander of the Revolutionary Forces in the Far East. Already as such I had an army of over 1,000 brave and patriotic men and women, many of whom had been sent to India on separate and difficult missions, as well as being President and a Commissioner of the Gadar Party. I was

openly advocating rebellion. In August 1914 we had published a "Declaration of War" against the English in the *Hindustan Gadar*, for we saw India's opportunity of freedom, while she was engaged in a death-struggle with Germany. Actually I was waiting to hear from the German Consul General at Shanghai.

Sindhi merchants though sympathetic to the cause and willing to help anonymously in the freedom of our country, dared not express their opinion openly, but our young student, so recently from India, did not hesitate to participate in the conversation. At parting time, he asked who I was and what I was doing in Japan. I told him that my name was Jaimal and that I was a silk-merchant, whereupon he remarked : "If all our merchants were as well-informed and patriotic, India would not remain long subservient to British Rule." He then extended an invitation to me to dine with him the following evening, which I accepted, and we parted.

Next evening at the appointed time, he greeted me with the warmth of a brother and almost immediately tea was served as is customary in Japan. As my host was pouring tea, I noticed a scar on the back of his left hand and concluded that it was the reason he was wearing gloves the previous evening but why ? Suddenly, like the flash of lightning an old recollection appeared before me. I found myself at Hong Kong in Central Gurdwara reading an article in an Urdu Daily Newspaper of Lahore, the "*Zimidar*", edited by Moulana Zafarali Khan, in which was given a full description of a young man by the name of Rash Behari Basu. He was suspected of throwing a bomb at Lord Hardinge in 1912, wounding the Viceroy and killing two of his bodyguards. . . .

At this point I sensed that I was in the company of another fellow rebel and it took all the control I could muster not to betray my awareness of his identity. . . Respecting the code of revolutionary ethics, I remained silent about any

discovery. Shortly after, dinner was announced and as we proceeded to the table, I beheld another scar on the instep of his foot which also had been mentioned in the detailed description of the patriot. This completely confirmed the identity of my host. I was in the presence of none other than Shri Rash Behari Basu.

Dinner formalities over, we settled down to an intimate discussion of national and inter-national problems. I asked my host if he had ever visited Punjab and if he had ever met revolutionaries from abroad who had returned to India. And in the spirit of mischief, I must confess, I enquired if he was familiar with the revolutionists of his own province Bengal, especially Shri Rash Behari Basu of Calcutta. He disclosed intimate knowledge of the revolutionary movements of both Punjab and Bengal, but he answered cautiously. He mentioned several members of the Gadar Party whom I had sent to India some months earlier, particularly Kartar Singh Saraba and Shri V. G. Pingle.

Would that a motion picture had captured the scene enacted between us that evening or that I possessed the faculty of an artist to reproduce it as I witnessed it then—the statement that “history repeats itself” is not true to fact. Ninety per cent of much that happens in the realms of experience is lost for ever. The opportunity “to live life” comes but once, never to be repeated. What I am revealing to you now is a chapter of “History” as yet untold, unwritten, unknown !

Midnight came all too soon. We had touched upon numerous problems of mutual interests and voiced our solutions. I had learned with grief, that India was far from ready for “freedom”. Unity was lacking among our people and treacherous and cowardly elements were rampant in our society. Nationalism was the dream of only a few, yet in spite of all, the revolutionary movement was taking root in India and was spreading. There was a feeling of understand-

ing and cohesion between the various revolutionary elements in the country. I was sad to know that the 10,000 brave "soldier-patriots" we had been sent from abroad to India would not succeed in their objective of "freeing the country while an international conflict was going on". My disappointment and grief were mitigated by the realisation that our share in awakening India was our whole-hearted offering and contribution laid at the altar of freedom of our Motherland. We had done what we could.

"I know that you are not a silk merchant. Who are you?—asked my host, as we were about to take leave of each other. "Neither are you a student of medicine," I stated, and our eyes met, smilingly. "If you reveal your identity, I will do likewise," I continued. "You start first," he immediately retorted. I told him my name. "The same Bhai Bhagawan Singh who was deported from Canada and is now the head of the Gadar Party," he exclaimed. I nodded and we found ourselves in a fast embrace. It was a moment of ecstasy !

Holding me at arm's length and scrutinizing me from head to toe, he quizically exclaimed : "I had pictured you a six-footer Punjabi, beturbaned and with long whiskers ! And we both laughed when I told him that in the process I had become "this". He realized that I was aware of his identity and the next few moments were occupied with future plans and the resolve to communicate with each other daily, in spite of the close vigil kept upon my every move.

Not long after that I had an appointment with Dr. Sun Yat Sen of China, at a famous resort about sixty miles from Tokyo and decided to take Shri Rashbehari Basu with me so that he could meet another famous revolutionist. It was in December of 1913 after my deportation from Canada that I had the honour of meeting Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the first Provisional President of China. I had heard so much about him that it was a joy to know him. At that time Maulana Baraktullah was with me and later in January 1914 I was

presented to Prince Toyama by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who was then staying with the Prince.

Prince Toyama was a great friend of India and desirous of India's freedom, regardless of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. He also was a great and powerful nationalist who later befriended our Shri Rashbehari Basu for many years. One day in conversation he spoke as follows : "The spread of British Imperialism in Asia is mainly due to India's man power, material resources and money. If India can be dragged into three wars with China, wars with Burma, Afghanistan and Persia, invasion of Tibet and the Boer Republic, some day we may have a quarrel with England, and it will be India's man power who will be used against us. It is in our own self-interest that we want India to be free." (A revealing statement !).

Meanwhile, at the hotel, a Japanese attendant had informed us that another compatriot of ours, by name of Mr. L. Rai had registered recently. Who could be this Mr. L. Rai, visiting Japan at this moment, we wondered when suddenly Shri Rash Behari Basu exclaimed : "It is none other than our Lala Rajpat Rai". Immediately we rushed to his room and there we met the famed leader, the Tiger of the Punjab.

The telegram I had been expecting from the German Consul General at Shanghai arrived and upon consultation it was decided that Shri Rashbehari Basu would undertake the journey and delegate mission in my stead as I was too well known in that part of the country and, besides, under such strict surveillance. So I gave him an introductory letter to the Consul General as well as all the cash I had and he left for Shanghai. What followed is another chapter of "history". That was the last time we were to be together though we worked for some years after that.

That chapter of history relates to contributions of Indian patriots from overseas, particularly from Canada and the

U.S.A. which cannot be underestimated nor ignored. The struggles and fights the Indians in Canada put up are too well known.

The founding of the "Gadar Party" in the U.S. by Dr. Hardyal and his associates, public sympathies aroused by the literature published by the Gadar Party, the sending of over 10,000 men as "Soldiers of Freedom"—are events and part of our history, though as yet unmentioned and unrecognised.

The electrifying effect of the "Kamagata Maru" in 1913-14 and shooting down its innocent passengers at Budge Budge are events of historic importance . . . not in the light of 1960, but in the context of conditions in the country at the beginning of the First World War.

The massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in 1919, conspiracy trials at Lahore, Delhi, Meerut, Calcutta, Kanpur, Lucknow, Mandalay and others were in connection with the work of patriots many of whom were hanged, shot, imprisoned and tortured. All of them were brave sons of India. Without their sacrifice there could not have been any Rowlatt Commission, nor Rowlatt Act, no Jallianwala Bagh and perhaps no awakening of India as early as at 1919.

Things that were possible were accomplished outside India ; they could not have been done in India, for example :

- (a) Systematic and organised campaigns to undermine the British prestige and moral justification for ruling and exploiting India ;
- (b) Enlisting the sympathies of Western writers, thinkers and freedom-loving individuals as well as officials in India's struggle ;
- (c) Making known the fact that instead of Britain protecting India from invaders, as was claimed, and of "civilizing India", Britain was utilizing India's resources, manpower and wealth to conquer other nations in Europe and Asia, extending her Imperialism ;

- (d) Preparation of open and armed rebellion ; giving military and technical training in the art of modern warfare ;
- (e) Establishing diplomatic relations with governments of Asia, Europe and America ;
- (f) Advocating open defiance and "Declaration of War" published in Hindustan Gardar as early as August 1914 as well as establishing a parallel Government in Malaya, recognized by nine countries, the work of the Indian Independence League founded by the Late Shri Rashbehari Basu, the formation of the *Azad Hind Fouz* and establishment of the Provisional Azad Hind Government, the work of the great patriot Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose among others were made possible by revolutionary patriots from outside India.

This was and is the contribution of those patriots whose "Saga of Heroism" is still unsung and if we can to-day fill the yawning gap of the "History of India's Freedom Movement" in honouring and bringing to the forefront such noble patriots as Rashbehari Basu, we will have rendered a great service to the future generations.

An Indian Revolutionary

RASH BEHARI THE GREAT

By Dharmavira

To overthrow the British rule in India the apostle-martyr hero Har Dayal wanted to have a political revolution in the country. In 1908, his presence, which electrified anybody who came in his contact, and his fiery views created a constant headache to the alien Government and they tried to find out a subterfuge for arresting him. An Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council got scent of their malevolent design and sent this message to Lala Lajpat Rai : "Har Dayal is in the brains of the topmost authorities. Send him abroad to save his valuable life." Har Dayal wished to face the situation. With intensely persistent persuasion Lala Rajpat Rai and other friends succeeded in prevailing upon Lala Har Dayal to leave India.

Before doing that in August he entrusted the work of his party to J. M. Chatterjee, who consulted Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prosad at Lahore with regard to it. They thought of undertaking actions of spectacular value. The main arteries of the foreign Government were the railways, telegraphs and courts, besides the army and the police. Some of these were to be destroyed. For this trained men and adequate material were needed. Ajit Singh offered to provide men if experts and adequate material could be arranged.

In 1909 Chatterji visited Dehra Dun in connection with a marriage ceremony. There he met Rash Behari Bose at his brother-in-law's place. Rash Behari seemed to know all about him. He asked him for the names of the followers of Har Dayal and for introduction to Dina Nath, Tara Chand, Dwarka Nath Bose, Amir Chand, Chiranji Lal and others.¹

Balshastri Hardas holds that Rash Behari first tried to get an entry into the Army, but being a Bengali, he was denied the privilege. He, therefore, took up a job in the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.² This view, I am afraid, is not correct. As a member of a secret revolutionary party he was sent by the Bengal wing of the revolutionaries to Dehra Dun. With the set purpose of converting members of the Indian Army to his views he tried to get himself enlisted in the Army, but he could not succeed therein.

At Dehra Dun Chatterji came face to face with a full-fledged revolutionary. They exchanged confidence though the latter did not tell Chatterji the exact nature of his work in Dehra Dun where he was trying to raise recruits from among the Bengali residents. The Government looked down upon them because of the troubles in Bengal. They felt it. Rash Behari was, therefore, proceeding very cautiously. He adopted a diplomatic attitude. He served the Government and made it appear to his countrymen that he was only full of froth and bombast and, if it came to adopting a resolution of loyalty to the British Government, he pretended to be in the forefront.

To meet Chatterji Rash Behari came down to Saharanpur from Dehra Dun. Chatterji told him his views about the revolutionary work. It was found that explosives would form an important ingredient. Certain moulds and chemicals were also needed. Rash Behari assured Chatterji of a good supply of revolvers. In fact he was collecting these on a limited scale already. The problem was how to find shell-cases. They had not as yet enlisted any blacksmith. Harish, one of the revolutionaries, however, assured them that he would procure as many cases as were required. He went away to some unknown destination and brought a trunk-load of empty shells, ready to be put together. They made straight for Lahore where Ajit Singh was to take over the material. But their room at Lahore was raided and the trunk carried away by the police. The latter were searching for Chatterji

and Harish. So they instead of going to Saharanpur took a train for Sialkot. Now they realised that any association with Ajit Singh for the purpose of assembling 'goods' or preparing the sinews of war was dangerous. They decided to change their tactics.

Meanwhile other problems cropped up. A good number of absconders left Bengal and came up to Delhi and the Punjab. Shelter and protection were to be provided to some of them. Others were to be smuggled out of the country. Naturally all the energy and time of the revolutionaries like Chatterji and Rash Behari were taken up by these.

It appears that throwing of a bomb on a person like the English Viceroy was working in the mind of Master Amir Chand for some time past. He told Chatterji: "We do not have a free flow of arms in the country. Unless, therefore, we accumulated a sufficient supply, a simultaneous attack in several places was out of the question. Our primary object should be some demonstration which would be spectacular. The sacrifices entailed in bringing it about would be trifling."

Chatterji discussed this problem with Rash Behari also, who told the former that simultaneous rising in several places was not feasible. He, however, arranged to get another expert to be utilised for the purpose. There was another handicap: revolver shooting or throwing bombs needed practice and took a long time for the local workers to master the art.

Chatterji never wholeheartedly subscribed to the cult of individual murders. He was thinking of demoralising under winning the police and the military strength of the ruler by attacking their arsenals and then by introducing revolutionaries in their ranks. Collecting of arms and ammunition was necessary for the revolutionaries but the mistakes which led to the discovery of the dump in Maniktola were to be avoided. Concerted action in several places at a time was essential, but the places should be far away from the revolutionary

haunts. Accordingly, he drew up a plan on four pages of an ordinary exercise book used in schools by boys.

Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prosad came to him in this connection and took away the manuscript. It was understood that after memorising the contents it would be destroyed. The manuscript was left with Banke Dayal, Editor of *Thang Syal*. Before he could finish it the police took it away. Ajit Singh informed Chatterji about the fate of the manuscript. Warrants for their arrest was issued. Chatterji thought that he too would be spotted. They suggested that the group should move out of India. Chatterji told the other two to go and they left for Persia.

To Chatterji, the situation seemed hopeless. He consulted Rash Behari and Harish. Both of them were taken aback. It was decided that any action indicated in Chatterji's scheme was not possible. Chatterji, therefore, left it entirely to Rash Behari and Harish to chalk out a scheme.

Four months had rolled by. The police managed to find out the author of the manuscript. Chatterji's father told him that the police was hot on his heels, but he should not admit that the manuscript was his writing. To put the C.I.D. on a false scent Chatterji moved about aimlessly in various districts for a fortnight. In the way he could locate his shadows. Again, the pursuers thought that the revolutionary headquarters were somewhere outside Saharanpur.

About this time a messenger Ram Saran Das of Kapurtala proved to be very helpful. As he knew most of the revolutionary contacts, Chatterji was anxious that his successor should be put in touch with Ram Saran Das. After deep consultation it was decided that Rash Behari should take over. He was practically unknown in these parts of the country and was a merely laboratory assistant. Chatterji's sole anxiety was to bring him close to Ram Saran Das. Rash Behari was selected for more than one reason. He was in a position to supply the sinews of war and was an unknown element so far as the C.I.D. were concerned. Again,

he was a tall, heavily built person and could put on any suitable disguise as the occasion demanded. Chatterji once saw him as a Pathan, in *Salwar* (boggy trousers) and *Kulha* (a hard cap used under a turban) with a vest to match and the disguise was not easily detectable. With a heavy turban and loose *pyjamas* he would look a typical Punjabi. As it was necessary for him to move about a good deal without being detected, such successful disguises were necessary adjuncts. Moreover Rash Behari belonged to a live organisation in Bengal and could easily indent tried men for the job the party might undertake. Chatterji drew up a list of all friends and supporters and handed it over to Rash Behari to carry on. It was decided that Chatterji should not remain in India. His presence might jeopardise the success of the movement. Chatterji was being deported.³

Rash Behari toured the whole of Northern India to see for himself how things were going on. He realised that the whole movement required centralization. A meeting of the representatives of different revolutionary organizations decided to form a Central Working Committee. As members of the Committee, Basant Kumar Biswas, Balraj Bhalla and others began to work under Rash Behari. Bhai Balmukund came in contact with Rash Behari in 1911. Since then he was anxious to offer himself to the cause of the country. This was a secret known only to his beautiful spouse, Ram Rakhi. Even Bhai Parmanand or Lala Lajpat Rai did not know about it.

To help Lala Har Dayal's Ghadar movement in America, seeds of insubordination and patriotism in the Indian army and ideas of revolt in the public at large was sown. The Liberty Pamphlets published by the revolutionaries found their way into the army stationed at Dehra Dun, Kasauli, Ambala Cantonment and such other military stations in the Punjab and the United Provinces. As a result of the efforts of Bhai Balmukand, Basant Kumar, Sachindranath Sanyal and Hanumant Sahai, the Government began to feel that

there might be an eruption at any time. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab Michael O'Dwyer was warned by the Central Government that a live volcano in the Punjab might burst out any moment.

According to Harrison, Additional Sessions Judge, Delhi, "in 1910 Chatterjee went to England to qualify as a barrister and before going wrote a letter of introduction on behalf of Rash Behari Bose. This letter was presented [by Rash Behari Bose to Dina Nath] at the Lahore Station at a pre-arranged meeting, and was the foundation of the close intimacy between the two which ended in the arrest of Dina Nath and the disappearance of Rash Behari. . . . Rash Behari prepared the mind of Dina Nath by conversation and literature. At a meeting held in a room adjoining the Agarwala Ashram [opposite Lala Lajpat Rai's house] in Lahore in October 1912, he disclosed his plan of campaign to a chosen few, namely Dina Nath, Avadh Behari and Bhai Balmukand, whom Dina Nath met the day before. Bal Raj, said Rash Behari, was to have either gone or about to go to Jodhpur, where he had been employed. This man had been introduced to Dina Nath (so he says) on the occasion of a previous visit paid to Lahore by Rash Behari in 1911. According to Dina Nath at the October meeting Rash Behari said that now some [persons] had been collected in the Punjab and U.P. The work should be actively begun. It should be done on the Bengal lines in the Punjab. A terrorist and anarchist movement should be begun. He would be the link between the work in Bengal, the Punjab and U.P. Avadh Behari would be the head of the Punjab and U.P. Bhai Balmukand and Dina Nath were to be the heads of the Punjab, more especialy of Lahore. A discussion followed in which it was decided that a man for throwing bomb must be selected and tested and that leaflets of the *Yugantar* nature must be printed. . . .

"Rash Behari brought with him from Dehra Dun young Basant Kumar Biswas. On being asked Bhai Balmukand



From left to right :—Shri Rash Behari Basu,, Raja Mahendra Pratap and Mr. Mitsui Toyama
talking at Tokyo about Indian Independence Movement.



Birth day party of Basu's son Masahide. Back Row :— On the extreme right Basu and his wife Tosiko, second and third from the extreme left are the two expert detectives of the Japanese police employed to chase Basu, ultimately converted as his most loyal and faithfulguards (1920).

got him engaged at the Popular Dispensary [Lahore] as compounder. The inner ring of the conspiracy was : Rash Behari, Dina Nath [informer], Basant Kumar, Avadh Behari, Amir Chand, Bhai Balmukand and Baj Raj."⁴

"Lala Har Dayal revived the Ghadar movement in America. Meanwhile his Delhi colleagues had unexpectedly to force a situation arising out of the change of Capital from Calcutta to Delhi. They played their part as the occasion demanded and succeeded in the action"—these words of one of the participants Mr. Hanwant Sahai, are very significant.⁵ A year earlier on December 12, 1911 the Imperial Durbar was held as the English King George V. visited the city. On December 23, 1912 the procession of the Viceroy Hardinge on the back of an elephant was taken out. Besides him there were rajas and maharajas along with their army chiefs. Swords shone bright. The military band kept them all in tune. The Union Jack flattered and flapped incessantly. The guns boomed. A hundred thousand had thronged to witness the scene. "When others in Chandni Chowk showered flowers and cocoanuts, the representatives of those who felt the insult, hurled a bomb which routed the elephant, killed one of the A.D.C.'s and gave a blood bath to the Viceroy. For five minutes everybody believed that Hardinge was dead. Verily the triumphant procession was turned into a funeral."⁶

Opening the session of the Imperial Legislative Council on January 27, 1913 the Viceroy remarked that in his desire for kindly intercourse with the people he had always discouraged excess in precautions and he trusted himself and his wife more to the care of the people than to that of the police. He did not think "it was an error." It means that Hardinge had no inkling (and if he had one, he never shared it with others) about the coming event. On the other hand, Kimberley, when he was the Viceroy of Ireland, one day in Dublin, received a letter which began : "My Lord, tomorrow we intend to kill you at the corner of Kildare Street ;

but we would like you to know [that] there is nothing personal in it". (Kimberley himself told this to Margot, wife of Prime Minister Asquith.) One must appreciate the humour of the sender of this letter.

And how did Hardinge trust himself and his wife to the care of the people? What arrangements did the police make for them? According to the letter of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Secretary of State, the Marquis of Crewe, along the route, in the Fort and at the Railway Station, two S.P.'s, seven A.S.P.'s, two D.S.P.'s, four I.P.'s, thirteen Sub-inspectors, five Sergeants, seventy-five head constables, 418 constables, four mounted head constables, 34 mounted constables, and one troop of the XI Lancers, doing purely police work, were employed, most of whom were drawn from the local force, though men were also borrowed from the Punjab. In addition to these, the C.I.D. supplied one D.S.P., two Inspectors, eight Sub-inspectors, nine head constables and 79 constables while Mr. Petric had under immediate control three Deputy Superintendents and one Sub-inspector. No less than 2,500 plain clothes officers were on duty at the Royal Entry of 1911.⁷

The members of the Imperial Legislative Council (except Ali Imam all of whom were Englishman) informed the Secretary of State thus: "This day was fine and large crowds had gathered in the sunshine. The houses in the Chandni Chowk were packed with people. At 11-45 a.m. about half way down the Chandni Chowk on the way from the Railway Station to the Fort, a bomb was thrown into the howdah. It exploded with terrific force, blowing to pieces the attendant who was standing behind Lady Hardinge.... Parts of the missile struck Lord Hardings. A boy in the crowd was killed and several of the onlookers were wounded."⁸

O'Mcreagh, Member, Legislative Council, blamed the police for the bomb outrage. "For months, if not for years past, we have been receiving reports from the C.I.D. of anarchist plots of Indians in Paris, Geneva, Pondicherry and

elsewhere. Only about a week before there was a bomb outrage in Bengal. Anarchy is very much alive in India. . . . It does not seem to me that the local civil officers are free from blame. . . . The absence of definite orders as to what was to be done in the event of an outrage occurring was an additional cause that militated against prompter action on the part of the police." D. S. Hadow, S.P., in his evidence said on oath on December 24, 1912: "Had the bomb missed H.E.'s elephant it would probably have killed him." P. Brambley, D.I.G. Police, U.P., said: "Just after I had passed on East Indian Railway Booking Office in the Chandni Chowk, I heard a loud explosion behind me which for a moment I took to be a bomb. . . ., but almost immediately I heard a shout from one of the balconies of the ward: 'Mara!' preceded by an exclamation which might have been 'Yah!' or 'Sabas!' I was struck at the time that the shout was one of approval; it brought home to me that something serious had happened. . . . I turned my horse round at once and I saw fumes issuing from the back of H.E.'s howdah. H.E.'s head was bare. I did not see the helmet. One of the retainers, the Viceroy's jamadar, leaning over reassuring the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge. . . . By this time I had come to the elephant and seen the damage. The umbrella had fallen over the back front of the hawdah and I could see the body of the dead jamadar hanging in a mangled mass out of the back of the hawdah. I jumped off my horse. . . . I kept my eye on H.E. as I saw he looked sad and he ordered me to the procession and to remove the remains of the dead jamadar whose right leg was hitched under the seat. The whole of the back part of the hawdah was blown out. . . . We advanced 20 to 30 yards. . . . H.E. became faint and fell back in the seat. I ordered the elephant to be stopped. . . . He was helped down."⁹

Khan Bahadur Fattah Mohd., Inspector of Police (who along with Sheikh Abdullah were in charge of the elephant) said on solemn affirmation: "When the bomb fell there was

a flash and a smoke. I knew Abdullah to be short-sighted. I ran across to him and got on to the *patri* and kept my eye on the National Bank building. A boy had been killed. I ran to the Punjab National Bank and got hold of Nissar Ahmad Munsiff and went into the Bank. Abdulla, I think, stayed at the door. I looked round the yard. I left Nissar Ahmed at the north-east corner and hunted round the place. I then went up the steps at the south-east corner. I more or less lost my way as I did not know the house. I saw a lot of women and no men. Eventually I came down and met Mr. White near the main door. . . . Some uniformed constables were with him. . . . The soldiers kept the house secure and also that of Pamman to the south. I do not believe any one left the Punjab National Bank House by the front gate before it was blocked. . . . The Viceroy looked hurt shortly after."¹⁰

✓ Hundreds of intelligencers from England too were there. Naturally it was taken to be a symbolic challenge to the British Empire. (Five months later on May 13, 1913 another bomb was thrown on a function of the Indian Civil Service men of the Punjab in the Lawrence Gardens at Lahore.) Searches were carried out by the Central Intelligence as well as the Scotland Yard People throughout the length and breadth of the country. A big reward of rupees seven thousand five hundred was announced for information about the thrower.

The report of the Chief Inspector of Explosives regarding the contents of the bomb is interesting : "The expert opinion is that the contents, shape and tin used in the Delhi bomb outrage were similar, more or less, to the ones used in Dalhousie Square (Calcutta) bomb outrage (of the 2nd March, 1911) and the Midnapore bomb case of the 13th December, 1912." In the concluding part it has been said : "From the above similarities I am of the opinion that the same directing brain must have guided the manufacture of these bombs as there is no doubt they are of a similar character. Though,

of course, I am not prepared to state they were made at one and the same time or at the same place."¹¹

A fabulous sum of rupees three lacs and one hundred and one squares of land were offered to a member (Mr. Lal Chand Falak of Lahore) who knew the bomb thrower. The notorious Sir Michael O'Dwyer says : "Two Bengalis who had brought up to Delhi and Lahore bombs from Calcutta and helped to place the bomb which killed the messenger at Lahore, were also convicted of the murder (both of them were hanged). But the second Bengali after he had unsuccessfully petitioned the Viceroy for mercy and a few days before he was hanged informed the Criminal Investigation Officers that it was he who disguised as a Mohammedan lady heavily veiled, and standing in front of the Punjab National Bank in Chandni Chowk had thrown the bomb which killed one of the Viceroy's attendants, severely wounded the others, and caused injuries to the Viceroy which would have killed a man of less spirit and courage. These facts did not however come to light till nearly a year later."¹²

Sir Michael has not named the Bengalis. Nobody knows why. This, however, detracts much from the value of his words. (Let us not forget that Sir Machael was shot down dead by the young Punjabi Udham Singh, who went to England specially for that purpose. The Municipal Committee, Amritsar, has decided to put up a four-faced statue at the site where once the statue of Queen Victoria stood. One of the faces will be that of Udham Singh.)

Who threw the bomb? Mr. Hanwant Sahai seems to know about the person who threw the bomb. But he is reticent about it. Recently Mr. Bal Raj, a day before his death at Delhi, asked his younger brother to convey a certain code-word of the Revolutionary Party to Mr. Hanwant Sahai. It was not done. Mr. Hanwant Sahai was very sorry to learn this. It appears that it concerned the Delhi incident of December 3, 1912.

Bhai Parmanand, a close associate of Rash Behari Bose, gave credit for this courageous action to Rash Behari. (He has mentioned this in several of his writings. In his private talks with the present writer, too, he referred to Rash Behari's name in this connection.) A long note (covering twelve pages) of C. R. Cleveland, Director, Criminal Investigation, dated Delhi, 31st March, 1915 provides us this information : "Mula Singh of Miran Kot, Amritsar, a leader of the Ghadar Party, was arrested last month (February 13) and has since made disclosures : In 1908 he was in Shanghai police for two years and a half ; but dismissed for misconduct went to America in 1913 where he joined the Ghadar Party He arrived at Colombo on November 18, 1914. He was in Amritsar in December. Kartar Singh Saraba, Pingley and Parmanand of Jhansi used to come to him. One day 'Pingley arrived with a Bengali. I took them to my house. Pingley told me that the Bengali's name was Chuchendra Nath Dutt. He was fat and short-statured. He had shallow complexion and prominent eyes. The ring finger of his right or left hand was stiff. He had bushy moustache, shaved beard and a broad forehead. There was a scar on his right foot, probably a burn mark. Age forty. He was wearing English dress with a pugree on his head. In the course of conversation I asked him if he knew the author of the Delhi Bomb outrage. He said, "Yes". Afterwards Ram Saran Das of Kapurthala told me that he was the man who threw the bomb. Pingley also told me that he was the man. This Bengali said that the bomb in question was thrown from the street and not from a house. He afterwards himself admitted that he had thrown the bomb and that he was dressed up like a Marwari. . . . ' "13

Again, Chatterji writes : "Rash Behari wrote to me [while in London] about the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Lord Hardinge, thanking me for having offered him opportunities to bring it about."¹⁴ But "My father threw a bomb on Lord Harings in 1912," these words of Mrs. Tetsu

Higuchi, the only surviving child of Rash Behari Bose, set at rest all doubts.¹⁵ Bhai Parmanand has written in one of his articles in the *Hindu*, Lahore, that it was the daring Rash Behari who after doing all this slipped out of Delhi and managed to call, arrange and address a public meeting the same evening at Dthra Dun wherein he ruthlessly criticised the bomb-thrower !

When it was published in the American Press that a bomb was thrown at the Viceroy Lord Hardinge, a public meeting of Indian students was held at San Francisco. (The son of the Chinese patriot Sun Yat-sen also joined them.) Har Dayal was inwardly churning with impatience at the easy-going pace of time, though not in a froth of hurry, and addressed the meeting in his soul-stirring manner. These words of the son of fire are still ringing in the ears of those who heard him : "*Pagri apni sambhaliyega Mir ! Aur basti nahin, yeh Dilli hai !* (Mir take care of your turban. It's no mean town but Delhi !)"¹⁶ It appears that Har Dayal felt like John Hay !

"Blood locked as I am, sun bound and hot as a pistol.

There is nothing for it but to burn."

(This speech became a classic. He was unrivalled as a speaker and debater. He was a commanding figure in revolutionary politics or wherever he chose to exercise his unique gift of language, memory, thought and character.)

The letter of the British Agent Hopkinson (San Francisco, January 11, 1913) to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, tells us : "I confirm my telegram : 25th Dec last. He [Har Dayal] convened a meeting of Hindu students at Berkeley to partake of feast given in honour of the attempt. Large gathering. Great jollification and heard to express knowledge of party who committed act'... On the 23rd December when the news was received... Har Dayal, in his [British agent Pandion's] presence called up many members of this [Radical] club and in each instance said : 'Have you heard the news what one of my men has done in India to

Lord Hardinge?' . . . The news was received with great joy and the students gave vent to their feelings by singing *Bande Mataram* and dancing about the room for hours..¹⁷

Another impact of this event on Lala Har Dayal was that he wrote *Yugantar Circular* which to the British Government was "very inflammatory and most seditious". (It was prohibited on March 11 under the Sea Customs Act and proscribed under the Indian Press Act. I got a copy of it from Mr. S. R. Rana in 1933 when I visited Champs Elysees (Paris) to see the place where Madam Cama and Pundit Shyamaji Krishnavarma once lived.) With a mind nimblest and sharpest practically all time, Har Dayal wrote this with the phosphorescent cynicism (cynicism in its original meaning). Apart from its literary and historical value the *Yugantar Circular* is characteristic of the felicitous style and sense of historical perspective of Har Dayal.

He hailed the bomb-thrower as greater deliverer and showered encomiums upon him thus : "He came like a blessing in answer to oft-repeated sighs and yearnings. He awakened us from sleep—he lashed a dazzling light before our dipping eyelids. The beloved hero of the hour is the wisdom and glory and the power to-day. In a land of slavery and shame he has asserted the dignity of human nature. In the midst of despair and sorrow he has sent a thrill of joy and hope from one corner of the land to the other. While all India was dumb with fear, he has spoken with the voice of Bheem and Arjun. While exiles in foreign land were anxiously scanning the future and waiting for a happier time, has has sent them a message of comfort and courage from his inspiring lips. Alone among cowards and slaves he has shown that the race of man has not died out in India. With his *vajra-vani* he has given forth the triumphant cry of freedom on the soil of Hindusthan : Where the tyrant is, there am I also, O, people of India. And the bomb is the tongue of fire that utteth my word."

It is said that the big building, from the top of which the bomb was thrown, proudly stood between the Clock Tower (in the historical street of Chandni Chowk) and Dhoalia Katra. Again, under this building the birthday anniversary of Rash Behari Bose was celebrated in June, 1959.

The Ghadar movement was, no doubt, one of the most important and rare enterprises of blazing patriotism in the history of the world. This phase of the current history reminds one of the hollowed gaps on which are writ large the name of those Rajput, Maharatta, and Punjabi heroes and heroines who at one time or other offered their lives as oblations to the sacrificial fire of patriotism.

According to the *Sedition Committee (1918) Report* "four thousand men had come from America for the purpose of rebellion and . . . there were twenty thousand more there who would come. He [Vishnu Ganesh Pingley] said that there were fifteen thousand men at Calcutta who would come when rebellion broke out." They have been indoctrinated with . . . ideas of equality and democracy in America and led to believe by Har Dayal . . . that India can be made into a Utopia in which all will be equal, and plague and famine cease to exist by the simple expedient of driving out the British."¹⁸ How could he manage to do that? With the patience that is genius Har Dayal carried figures for the temple of freedom and life and chiselled Beauty's perfect grace through the magic of sacrifice against which all the armies and navies of Empire and Capitalists are quite helpless. He sacrificed wealth, he sacrificed health, he sacrificed love, he sacrificed life itself. He gave himself and won the world. He, too, could have said, "I have annihilated myself completely." No wonder that the people who recited the doings of Har Dayal in America held him to be the "Liberator of India" and called him "Maharaj Har Dayal." With an inner satisfaction that they were doing their duty to the mother country, those thousands left for India knowing full

well that death awaited them there. As taught by Har Dayal they rejected reptile prudence and undertook the sacred mission in a religious spirit.^{18b}

Rash Behari, though he was underground, looked to the deployment of these patriots in arms. He himself stayed at Benaras and practically took charge of the movement. Although a price had been offered for his head and his photographs had been widely circulated, he succeeded in residing in Benaras throughout the greater part of the year 1914. "Rash Behari lived near Bengalitola and generally took outdoor exercise at night. He was visited by various members of the Sachindra party and on one occasion gave a demonstration of the use of bombs and revolvers. While he was examining two bomb caps on the night of November 18, 1914, they exploded and injured both him and Sachindra. After that he shifted his residence. . . ."

Sri Michael O'Dwyer writes: "It was at this critical stage that Rash Behari, the organiser of the Delhi and Lahore outrages of 1912-13, moved up into the Punjab to take general charge of the operations. He brought an astute but daring Mahratta Brahmin of Poona, U. G. Pingley, who had returned from America with the Sikh revolutionaries, as one of his chief lieutenants. These two became the brains of the conspiracy after so many of the *Tasu Maru* men had fallen into our hands. Bhai Parmanand, M.A., and professor in the Arya Samaj College at Lahore, was one of the links between the disaffected section of the Hindu intelligentsia and the Sikhs of the Ghadar Party. He had returned from America before the War broke out."¹⁹

Most of the English soldiers were sent from India to the European theatres of war. Naturally, it was thought to be the most proper opportunity for striking at the enemy. Rash Behari, therefore, issued secret instructions that the first targets of attack were to be the English officers, whether military or civil. Then they were to release all the prisoners and loot the government treasuries. As a result of mobbing

military cantonments and camps stores, arms were to be secured. After cutting down the telegraph lines, arms and ammunitions were to be passed on to local revolutionary cells. Then the leaders were to gather in the Punjab, which was to give a fight for twelve months.

The leaders at various places were waiting for a signal when things took a very unhappy turn. Kripal Singh, a spy of the Government, found his way into the inner circle of the revolutionaries in the Punjab. When Rash Behari saw Kripal Singh he ordered that the man should be done away with. Discipline demanded that they ought to have obeyed the High Command. Instead he was kept in detention. Now on February 10 the secret messenger who brought the date of the D-day, February 21, from Rash Behari, foolishly conveyed this message in the presence of Kripal Singh. The traitor conveyed this important bit of information with regard to the day of rebellion to the authorities who raided Kripal Singh's place of detention. The police caught hold of a few leaders, bombs, arms and a good number of documents. The details of the uprising having been known, the Government sent necessary instructions to the military camps and cantonments where precautions were taken forthwith. English soldiers replaced the Indians. They got the military ready to fight. English tommies began to parade in the towns where treasuries were located. Delhi, Ambala, Meerut, Ferozpur and Lahore got ready for facing the revolt. The unexpected show of military strength in places where nobody dreamt of it, confused the leaders and the workers of the *Ghadar*.

The indifference on the part of the leaders of the army and the arrests of the leaders of the Ghadar left a very bad effect on the movement everywhere. The hope of victory yielded place to frustration. Kartar Singh came to the headquarters of the High Command. What did he find there? It was a crushing blow for even a great leader like Rash Behari. He saw that the storm was coming. He, therefore,

left Lahore with his trustworthy companion Vinayak Kapale and reached Benares on February 20.

Pingley too got out of the Punjab. But at Meerut he met a member of the military who posed as a revolutionary. Pingley was deceived. He, therefore, took him to Benaras. When Rash Behari saw this man he was sorry that even Pingley was duped by an agent of the British. When, however, he asked Pingley to be silent, the simple young man did not see eye to eye with Rash Behari. Instead Pingley pressed for help. Rash Behari succumbed to his entreaties and passed on ten bombs. As soon as the two reached Meerut Pingley found himself in the clutches of the Police. On November 16 he was charged at Lahore along with ten friends. Several soldiers, whose implication was suspected, were shot dead.

Bhai Paramanand sent a message of hope to Rash Behari who later on himself wrote about it : "While I was hiding in Benaras in 1914, I received a message from Bhaiji through another friend and this message was a great inspiration to me to be more active in the cause of *Bharat Mata* [Mother India]. I was then downcast and discouraged, but it was Bhaiji's message which gave me a new life and new field of activity."²⁰ Sometime later, Bhai Parmanand was arrested. The Government held that he was the most dangerous leader—more dangerous than even Har Dayal, because he was the Chief of the inner circle of leaders like Rash Behari, Pingley and Kartar Singh, who directed the whole movement.

A special tribunal was set up under the Defence of India Act and sixty-one leaders like Bhai Paramanand, Kartar Singh and Pingley, were brought before it under the charge of conspiracy to overthrow the British Government. Kartar Singh's statement was so thrilling that the President forgot to take down notes. He asked Kartar Singh to look to the consequences and restrain himself, at which the latter remarked : "What consequences Sir ! You will reward me with death. That is all. And I am not afraid of that. My only

ambition is to see my mother country free. I have never done anything out of hatred for an individual, creed or race, or with any mean desire of satisfying my personal interest."

The judgment was delivered on September 13, 1916. Bhai Parmanand was so indifferent to death that on that day he slept till 8 in the morning. When he woke up he found everybody round him laughing: "Why? Are you going to your in-laws to-day?", a friend enquired from him.

These blessed sons lived for some time together. Now they were to be separated. They sang those great songs about the Mother which had kept up their spirits so long. At the end they prayed together for the last time. Twenty-four of these, Kartar Singh, Pingley, Bhai Parmanand and others, were awarded death sentence. On hearing this all began to dance. Those who were condemned to transportation for life, that is to the Andamans or the Devil's Island, cried: "Give us death! Reward us with hanging!" The President told them that they should appeal for higher sentence! [Bhai Parmanand has given us an analysis of this state of his mind thus: "We were in such a state of intoxication as might be called a rejoicing. . . . Conversation would be kept up till a very late hour at night, with laughter and mirth: until we would go to sleep, weary and exhausted. Our jail guards would wonder at this . . . and ask if we were going in a marriage procession. They, poor fellows, could never understand what joy is in such a death. . . . When the steamer Titanic was about to sink the Captain gave orders to the band to play—'Nearer to Thee, my Lord!' From my childhood I was resolved in my mind to lay down my life at the altar of the Mother-country. I was blessed that the Almighty gave me an opportunity of welcoming death."²¹

The first act of the great play on the stage of the Punjab having been abruptly cut short, Rash Behari warned all the branches and leaders in Bengal to avoid repetition of the Punjab tragedy. For full month he stayed in the midst of police and secret spies at Benares. Still nobody could catch

him although there were three rewards for arresting this "proclaimed offender". His colleagues, however, decided that he should not stay in India any more. He therefore left for Japan.

Soon after the Delhi Conspiracy Case was launched. Rash Behari was wanted by the police. He left for Chandernagar, his home, on leave. On his return to Dehra Dun he learnt that Chatterji had returned from England. Dare-devil as he was, Rash Behari went straight to Saharanpur and stayed with Chatterji for a week. As he wanted to get away, his friend collected some money. Chatterji told him that his photograph in which he was standing with one hand on a bicycle, was posted at the Railway Station. Rash Behari wanted to see for himself how he looked in the photograph. Dressed as a Pathan he took Chatterji to the Railway Station and enjoyed the reproduction of his likeness in the poster. One evening he slipped out of Saharanpur. A couple of days later a C.I.D. man approached Chatterji to know if Rash Behari came to Saharanpur. Chatterji laughed at the whole thing so that the man was put out of countenance.

While Chatterji was in London Rash Behari wrote to him to purchase some revolvers for use in India. Along with it was the address of a second-hand bookseller in Tottenham Court Road (London) who smuggled such arms to India. Chatterji contacted him. He looked to be a Jew and not a British. He was adept in his art. He would weigh up the package containing the revolver and make the weight correspond with that of the books named in the invoice, under which these were despatched to India. Chatterji sent him two revolvers and he was carrying them both on his person when Chatterji met him for the last time.

Rash Behari was the man who befooled the police, the C.I.D. and the Government. I say this on the basis of solid facts. About one of the topmost revolutionary leaders Judge Harrison writes : "He has apparently created an impression that he is a man of intelligence, but . . . he is either a person

of unbalanced mind devoid of intelligence or an unscrupulous scoundrel." Now nobody can expect a good word from such an imperialist for any Indian. Still he was constrained to write these words : "Rash Behari was even cleverer man than he is generally supposed to have been clearly a most masterful man and one who has great influence over the young." And he gives the ground on which he takes his stand :

"Sen [Government official] directed his cross-examination . . . to show that Rash Behari was a police spy. The reason was this : First, Puran Singh (getting rupees five hundred) states that Rash Bhari put him impertinent questions like a policeman. Secondly, when the Viceroy visited Dehra Dun after the Delhi outrage Rash Behari was provided with a police pass to enable him to go into the Viceroy's camp. [Having failed to kill Hardinge at Delhi did Rash Behari want to put him out of existence at Dehra Dun ?] Deputy Superintendent of Police Sushil Chandra Ghosh says that he himself was not provided with such a pass. Thirdly, Sushil Chandra says that the police got information from Rash Behari about the Bengalis who came to Dehra Dun during the Viceroy's visit and that all the respectable Bengalis gave him information. Fourthly, Rash Behari compelled [J. M.] Chatterji to give him the best of Har Dayal's disciples and did so by threatening to bother him again : he had all the authority of an employee of the police. Fifthly, cross-examination of Charan Das by Rash Behari [was] like a policeman in plain clothes.

"On page 5 of his diary of 18th February, Mr. Petric writes : 'On my return to Mr. Hadow's house I found a wire waiting for me from Mr. Denham saying that Rash Behari Bose had been previously employed as an informer by an officer of the department of the Director of Criminal Intelligence and that his reports were in the Director's office.

"The only conclusion to which all this leads is that Rash

Behari made use of his connection with the police to further the ends of this [Delhi] conspiracy.

"The accused Mannu Lal's connection with Rash Behari is shown by P. 43, an intercepted letter, written by one A. C. Ghosh from Dehra Dun saying that all the property of Rash Behari has been searched and asking him [Mannu Lal] to inform Rash Behari about it. A. C. Ghosh in whose house Rash Behari had stayed, wrote this letter at the order of Mr. Burton, Superintendent of Police, Dehra Dun in order to find out Rash Behari's address. He states that when Rash Behari left he gave him [A. C. Ghosh] the address of Babu Mannu Lal Haveli Jugal Kishor, Chandni Chwk, Delhi, as the place where his letters were to be sent."²³ [Of course Rash Behari proved cleverer than Burton in as much as the letter could not find out Rash Behari's address.]

Another proof : On March 27, 1915 this telegram number 359 was sent by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India :

"Enquiries in the Punjab in February and March showed attempts of Ghadar Party to tamper with Indian troops at Meerut... Three emissaries—Kartar Singh, a Ghadar leader and a returned emigrant, Shyamlal *alias* Dhaupat Singh [V. G. Pingley] and Sucha Singh, a college student of Ludhiana, son of an Indian Officer now in France . . . visited Meerut and opened touch with sowars of 12th cavalry. They also visited Agra, Fyzabad, Bareilly, Lucknow and Benares. . . Information from Pathan non-commissioned officer of 12th cavalry. Officer commanding, 12th cavalry aided by loyal Pathan sowars, raided a sowar's quarters in lines on the night of 23rd instant and discovered Shyam Lal or V. G. Pingley. . . He had brought bombs in company of one of the loyal Pathans three days before from Benares.

"So far we have been unable to locate the Depot at Benares as the sowar was blindfolded when he visited the place. But he met a Bengali who gave bombs. From the description given he might be Rash Behari."²⁴ ,



A meeting at 'OSAKA KEIO' club on 15th April 1938



A meeting of the Indian Independence League at NAKAMURAYA on the 19th June 1938 in honour of General Matsui. Shri Rash Behari Basu is seen at the right of General Matsui.

It would be matter of pride and privilege to meet such a great man. I met him in Tokyo, where I had gone in connection with the Pan-Pacific Buddhist Conference. He invited us to the place. (His young son too was alive then.) The old sage Toyama helped Rash Behari in the beginning by way of giving him asylum when the Japanese Government wanted to hand him over to the British Government. We had the pleasure of being Toyama's guests too.

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A HOMAGE

By Indulal Yajnik

I feel highly honoured in paying my homage to Shri Rash Behari Basu who led the biggest revolutionary movement in the beginning of this century.

I remember to have heard the name of the fiery patriot for the first time in connection with the explosion of a bomb aimed at Lord Hardinge when he made his entry into Delhi, new capital of British India, in 1911-12. But I learnt the broad story of his brilliant revolutionary leadership in London when I was going through plenty of material to write the biography of Pandit Shyamji Krishna Varma in 1934-35.

Having pondered over the heroic exploits of the great Irish revolutionaries when I was in Ireland in 1932-33, I secured Veer Savarkar's book on "War of Indian Independence" of 1857 and passionately desired to secure all information about the development of the cult of the bomb and the revolver which was inaugurated by Senapati Bapat and Hemchandra Das in Paris in 1907, and was then quickly carried to India by them in the beginning of 1908. The bombs and revolver then exploded in quick succession in Maharashtra and Bengal. But the first revolutionary outbursts scattered over distant areas were quickly suppressed by the Britishers.

Young Rash Behari, inspired by the heroes and martyrs of this upsurge, was quick to follow the outstanding lesson of the War of 1857, namely, that the various revolutionary groups operating then in Bengal and North India should be integrated in one organic whole to shake the foundation of the British Raj. So he moved like a whirlwind from Calcutta through Banaras, Kanpur and Delhi to Punjab and developed considerable unity among the revolutionaries who were turned with iron discipline into heroes of tomorrow.

The Delhi bomb threw a colourful light on the beginnings of his great effort. The outbreak of the first World War found him ready to embark on the most heroic adventure of his life. The advent of thousands of Gadar party workers from America gave him a golden opportunity of strengthening the ranks of revolutionary groups in Punjab. With this preparation, he again followed in the footsteps of the leaders of 1857 by contacting the Indian army all over North India to co-ordinate military revolt with the heroic upsurge of all his revolutionary bands.

Unfortunately, the British spies got advance news of all these preparations. And the 19th February 1915, the day on which Gokhale breathed his last, fixed as the day of revolution all over the country, witnessed the mass arrests of the best revolutionaries and suspect military leaders all over North India. And then were staged a series of so-called Punjab conspiracy case trials in which many young revolutionaries like Kartar Singh laid down their lives at the altar of the motherland.

Then began the most thrilling period of Rash Behari's life. Government moved heaven and earth to spot and arrest him. A prize of many thousands of rupees was put on his head. How the architect of the would-have-been-revolution escaped the clutches of the police should be deemed the most thrilling saga of our hero's life.

I need not describe the rare resourcefulness and courage with which he escaped to Japan (in the guise of Raja P. N. Tagore), nor need I dwell on the great work he did in Japan for decades before he organized the *Azad Hind Fouj* on the outbreak of the last World War. He showed a rare sense of patriotic self-effacement when he handed over the leadership of the new organization to Netaji, the true harbinger of the Indian revolution.

Long, very long must India wait till another Basu takes his place.

A REMINISCENCE

By Keshoram Sabarwal

When Rash Behari Basu escaped to Japan, he was followed by an known young man of the Punjab—Sri Sabarwal, who was then acting as the Secretary to Lala Lajpat Rai. This young man also escaped to Japan and stayed there to work under the command of the great leader Rash Behari.

This gentleman now writes a part of his reminiscence here.—Editor.

Rashbehari Bose was not only a great patriot, a great fighter for freedom, but a statesman as well. His was a life filled with work for the emancipation of his Motherland and enlightened with brilliant thought and profound joy. In the words of Robert Louis Stevenson, it was his firm conviction that his "business in this world" was "not to succeed, but to continue to fall in good spirits."

To all of us whose good fortune it was to work with him, he served as a magnet, drawing its component parts together, around one focal point. He was a devoted comrade but a hard task master; meek and humble when it was pointed out to him that he had been wrong. As such, he is enshrined in our hearts as the brightest image of simplicity, righteousness and courage. It is an irony of fate that he did not live long to see the freedom of his Motherland he had fought for all his life, and to take part in its reconstruction.

I met Rashbehari Bose for the first time in Tokyo in August 1915, although we had known each other through our mutual friend the late Shri Kedar Nath Sehgal. P. N. Thakur, as he was then called, had known of our political activities in Peshawar in the years 1912, 1913 and 1914, when we were all rounded up along with the late Pandit Jagat Ram Bhardwaj. It was love at first sight. To me

he never revealed his identity, and yet we all worked together. We understood each other and often talked of fellow workers in the Punjab. He told me once how Kedar Nath Sehgal managed to remove him from one house to another, disguised as the husband of a Punjabi lady who actually was the wife of a very dear friend of Kedar Nathjee, thus frustrating a police attempt to lay their hands on him. Kedar Nathjee felt grateful when I told him, after my return to India in 1950, how appreciative Bose Babu was for that act of resourcefulness on his part.

Rashbehari Bose was a great devotee of Shri Aurobindo and steeped in the philosophy of *Bhagavad Geeta*, but he was no less respectful to other leaders of India. I remember how humble he was when brought in contact with Lala Lajpat Rai who happened to be in Tokyo in those very days. He was introduced to Lalajee by the late Abani Mukerjee, who later became one of the founders of the Third Internationale. Lala Lajpat Rai whom I had met in India in 1913 was not very sure that P. N. Thakur was really the world famous Rashbehari Bose. He came to call upon me one evening with Abani Mukerjee—in fact it was a surprise call. I had known that Lalajee was in Tokyo but failed to meet him as I was planning to go to the United States to join the Ghadar Party, and was reluctant to compromise his position with that organisation. Lalajee took me aside and I was able to convince him that P. N. Thakur was no other than Rashbehari Bose. From that moment on there was a bond of comradeship between Rashbehari and Lalajee, notwithstanding a world of difference in their lines of action for the freedom of their common Motherland.

Herambalal Gupta had also reached Tokyo. He had met Lalajee in the United States. Unfortunately he was not very appreciative of the bonds of love and affection that some unseen power had managed to forge between Lajpat Rai and Rashbehari Bose. So great was the respect in which Rashbehari was held that even Herambalal Gupta agreed

when it was decided to hold a banquet on behalf of the Indian community in Japan to celebrate the enthronement of the late Emperor Taisho, father of the present Emperor Hirohito, a function to be presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai. The banquet was held at Uyeno Seiyoken Hotel on the evening of November 27, 1915, and a 13-course dinner was served. Many top-ranking politicians of Japan, editors, writers and publicmen took part in the function. Lala Lajpat Rai spoke in English. The late Hugh Byas, an Englishman, who was then the editor of the American-owned *Japan Advertiser*, compared Lalajee to Lloyd George as an orator and as a statesman in his report of that function which appeared in his paper next morning.

British diplomacy, however, had been working slowly and steadily behind the scenes. The Japanese Government presided over by the late Marquis Okuma had already agreed to deport Rashbehari Bose and Herambalal Gupta, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance being in full force at the time, but the secret was kept well guarded so as not to disturb a function that was to be held to congratulate the Japanese Emperor on his enthronement. The British Ambassador asked for his pound of flesh, and an order was issued the very next day ordering both Rashbehari Bose and Herambalal Gupta to leave the shores of Japan within five days.

There were only two ships leaving Japan within those five days, one for Vladivostock and the other for Shanghai. It was a trap well planned. They would have been arrested and handed over to the British by the Tsarist Government of Russia had they gone to Vladivostock. In Shanghai they would have fallen into the hands of the British who had their own police and their own courts of law because they enjoyed extra-territoriality in those days in China.

Herambalal Gupta who had seen soft life in the United States was very much downcast and depressed. Rashbehari, on the other hand, took his orders quite philosophically. The late Dr. Sun Yat-sen for whom Laljee had a letter of

introduction from one of his friends in the United States and had in turn been introduced to Rashbehari Bose, was consulted. He put both of them in the hands of the late Mitsuru Toyama, a great political figure behind the scenes, who saw to it that they disappear from the rear of his residence, while the security man was waiting for them at the front gate.

Mr. and Mrs. Sohma who gave shelter and protection to both Rashbehari Bose and Herambalal Gupta in a small room in the rear of their residence-cum-shop in Kashiwagi, Shinjuku, looked after them with love and devotion which finally resulted in the marriage of the then Miss Toshiko Sohma with Rashbehari Bose.

I enjoyed Rashbehari's trust as no other person I believe did in those days. So attached were we to each other that he sent for me one evening to get my consent to his marriage to the girl who used to carry food for him and Shri Gupta during the period they were supposed to be hiding in their house. Then again, I was in Kyoto working at the Otani University when Rashbehari decided to apply for his naturalisation papers. He had to do so to legalise the status of his children after the British and French Consuls had point-blank refused to help him out of his legal difficulties. This time also he took me into his confidence, and we had a long correspondence before he applied for his naturalisation as a Japanese subject.

Lala Lajpat Rai was then writing his *Young India* when one evening he received an invitation to dinner from his friend the late Dr. Shiozawa, the then Dean of the Waseda University. They met at the Nippon Club where Lalajee was advised to get out of Japan as early as he possibly could as the British were pressing the Japanese Government for his deportation as well. Dr. Shiozawa was a personal friend of the Prime Minister; Lalajee therefore decided to pack up and leave for the United States. Rashbehari's money was partly with me and partly with Lalajee, while Shri Gupta kept his cash with him. Rashbehari asked me to tell Lalajee

to keep the money with him which, however, Lalajee remitted to us later at our request. And, it was Dr. Shiozawa who told Lala Lajpat Rai that the person who had revealed P. N. Thakur's identity to the British was an Assamese Harijan who bore a Bengali name and at whose residence we all used to meet.

ASHES OF AN EXILE

By Duni Chand

It should be considered an event of great national rejoicing that the sacred ashes of the late Shri Rashbehari Basu are being brought over from Japan to be enshrined on the soil of India for which he fought so valiantly and died the death of an exile in a foreign land. India should however feel grateful to the friendly Japan which preserved his ashes and thereby enabled the people of India to cherish his memory in a tangible form.

Revolutionaries all the world over who give away their lives in order to free their enslaved countries are salts of the earth and ever to be remembered. The late Sri Rash Behari Basu was one of such men. Heroes who sacrifice their lives in battle fields to secure freedom for their countries make records of history and those who dedicate their lives to the daring efforts to rescue their countries from the cruel grip of the foreigners and do not reap the fruits of their labour are no less entitled to a place in the pages of history. This great Indian certainly deserves such a place.

I well remember the month of December, 1912 when he threw a bomb at Lord Hardinge, Governor General and Viceroy of India while he was being taken in procession with all the pomp and show by Indians themselves in Chandni Chowk, Delhi, as if it were to celebrate the festival of their

slavery. It was the time when the British Empire was in full blaze and even the birds in the air were, as the Indian saying goes, afraid of its power and nobody dreamed that a band of Indian patriots headed by late Shri Rashbehari Basu would demonstrate in broad day light of the broad street of the capital itself of the British Indian Empire their will to remain no more as slaves. One of them Bhai Amir Chand was personally known to me as a relation of the late L. Murli Dhar of Ambala City, who later took a prominent part in the activities of pre-Gandhi Indian National Congress, and I could not possibly think then that he would one day go cheerfully to the gallows as he did. The other Indian Bhai Bal Mukund yet in the prime of his life belonged to a highly patriotic family of the Punjab which played a great role to win freedom for India. It was the family of the well known patriot and Arya Samajist leader Bhai Parma Nand. This young man who joyfully went to the gallows was his nephew.

It cannot be denied that this too daring act of bomb throwing and the eventual execution of some of the accused in this case gave a great impetus to the struggle whether behind the scenes or in the open to win freedom for India. I am glad that Bengal which was in the forefront of the campaign of freedom from beginning to end has acted nobly in trying to bring the ashes of its worthy son and enshrining them on its sacred soil and in particular, Rashbehari Basu Smarak Samity is entitled to the gratitude of the people of India for reviving the memory of this great Bengalee to inspire men, women and children of Bengal.

Thank God, I have lived long enough—nearly 90 years—not only to have taken part in the great historic struggle for freedom of India but also to have witnessed Independence established all over India.*

*The writer is a well-known patriot of the Punjab, an Advocate of Ambala and ex-member Punjab and Central Assembly and A.I.C.C. (1920-40).

UNTO THE FUTURE

By Basudha Chakravarty

These lines occur in "My Indian Years, 1910-1916" by Lord Hardinge of Penshurst :

"Two incidents of interest occurred on the journey (to Dehradun) The second was that when driving in a car from the station to my bungalow, I passed an Indian standing in front of the gate of his house with several others, all of whom were very demonstrative in their *salaams*. On my inquiring who these people might be I was told that the principal Indian there had presided two days before at a public meeting at Dehra Dun and had proposed and carried a vote of condolence with me on account of the attack on my life. It was proved later that it was this identical Indian who threw the bomb at me."

Thousands of incidence have marked India's struggle for freedom conducted both on violent and non-violent lines. But the incident of which we learn in the above passage from, as it were, the horse's mouth, stands in a class by itself. It was at once a prelude and a pointer. The British Empire in India was already a caricature, and, travesty of history, Rash Behari Basu stood wayside at Dehra Dun to put it in its place. He told it that its day was done. Objectively it was already an anachronism. It only remained for the people of India to put an end to that anachronism.

Who put it into the head of Rashbehari Basu to think and act like that? It was not fortuitous, nor an accident. The impelling force of history was silently but inexorably at work. It finds expression at the start through a few individuals, perhaps one individual to begin with. An objective necessity moulds the human mind into a subjective factor for its realization. Freedom from foreign rule had already in the beginning of this century become an objective necessity for India. But it was not yet a conscious perception

for the people at large. It was then but a spark which kindled one, two, three minds and then tens, hundreds, thousands, millions. That was a process molecular as all historical processes are. The blow that Rashbehari Basu struck at British Imperialism on the streets of Delhi apparently blew over. At least there were people who thought so. but the bomb reverberated through the corridors of time into the portals of history. The sequel at Dehra Dun was proof that the denotation was continuing. "The history of humanity", says Leo Tolstoy, "is a continuous motion". Here there is no conflict with the materialist either. Ideas germinate, ideas penetrate, ideas liberate. But if the materialist says that ideas are born of reality and it is reality that causes the impact of ideas on man's minds, there need be no quarrel with him. Realities of the British Empire in India at its zenith were corroding the Indian nation, both its body and soul. The bomb at Delhi was a protest ; the sequel at Dehra Dun was an assurance that the protest had not died with the bomb.

The rest of the story is known though the whole of the story will probably never be known. India's struggle for freedom beginning with the first stirrs of self-perception as a reaction of wounds caused to the peoples' hearts by foreign rule, and drawing its inspiration from Mazzini and Garibaldi, reached out in the wake of the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi to the masses but could not but own the message of *Dharma Yuddha* in the *Geeta* whereupon the call of revolution drew Indian youth out of its homes. The full canvas of that effort at self-realization is not easy to grasp. Yet the majestic figure of Rashbehari Basu stands shining over it all, not the less compelling because it had to remain at great distance from the country.

The callow youth who threw the bomb at the Viceroy at Delhi must have been a dreamer but not a day-dreamer. He did not certainly think that one bomb would do the trick. It was but the beginning of his odyssey to the promised

land of freedom for his country. He could never return to his motherland. He martyred himself by degrees to the pain of forced absence from his country—a sacrifice the immensity of which we hardly realize. Not for a moment even during the long years of his enforced banishment did he cease to think of his country. In thought, word and deed he was always serving his country's cause. So he lived to a mature age, but not long enough to see his country free. The colossal extent of his self-deprivation could he but inadequately realized. He, as is well known, handed over the leadership of the Indian freedom movement in South East Asia to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A colossus in his dream, a Hercules in his action, infinite in renunciation, unyielding in endeavour, Rashbehari Basu was yet the humblest of men. All that mattered to him was freedom for his country, personal glory, reputation, recognition were all anathema to him. The edifice of human freedom and civilization is built of the blood and iron of silent heroes like Rashbehari Basu.

Now comes the question of perpetuation of his memory. The Biplabi Mahanayak Rashbehari Basu Smarak Samity has set itself well and resolutely to the task. It would be surprising if Rashbehari Basu does not find a place in future Indian history for the history of the Indian struggle for freedom could not be complete without him. He takes his place among the immortals whose footprints lie engraved on India's march to freedom. From the materialist point of view, again, his life is merged in the lives of his countrymen and countrywomen. Only in the splitting up of individual life in the life of the world does the materialist own immortality. There is no doubt that the flame of Rashbehari Basu's thought illumined the minds of thousands of his people ; his daring spirit inspired hundreds of youths to action ; his determination, self-exertion and self-abnegation earned for him a position of deep respect among not only his countrymen but fellow-Asiatics in the lands where his

labours lay. It remains for the example of his life to be transmitted to posterity, for that would be an inspiration and education which they could hardly afford to miss. The new generation which has not lived the epic decades of the nation's fight for freedom is more obsessed with the present and more concerned with the future than conscious of the past. Yet the continuity of history needs to be realized for awareness of the background of the continuity of life. But Rashbehari Basu is not only of the past either. He must have had a conception of the India he lived and fought to make free. He had surely an image of future India in his dreams. His life, message and legacy are projected from the past through the present into the future. His appearance by the wayside at Dehra Dun appertained to the twilight of history. Time flies, epochs change; life lives on in ether. Nothing is in vain, everything counts, nothing matters. There are lives that are the seeds of life eternal. In the conflict and fusion of races the history of India has been a vast experiment in the mingling of cultures. The synthetic trend is still impinged on by the separatist. Western contact had a cataclytic effect on our history but western rule was a grindstone round our neck. Rashbehari Basu's bid to release us from it was really to give a start to India's unfulfilled destiny. His life ran along the path of that destiny. That destiny is unending and with the dawn of Indian freedom Rashbehari Basu reached immortality.

A GREAT PATRIOT AND A LIFE-LONG FIGHTER

By Sabitri Prasanna Chatterjee

No one could so fittingly pay his homage to the great revolutionary Rashbehari Basu as could do Subhas Chandra Bose, nor could any one pay such glowing tributes as Netaji himself offered him at Singapore on July 4, 1943.

To sum up Rashbehari or to give voice to the nation's feelings about him would require Rashbehari's power of expression ; yet no Indian, not to speak of the present writer, can help paying his homage to the memory of that great patriot and fighter, unique in character and adept in performance. For over a quarter of a century the name of Rashbehari brooded over India's life like a mystery. From him radiated into every corner of his country's mind and soul the sun-shine of patriotism. Ceaseless were his troubles and tribulations—stirred by some social injustice or political insult—and there coursed from these torments a dynamic spirit of courage and a deep sense of justice which ultimately reoriented his whole mental horizon.

Now in "commemorating the great services of the late Rashbehari Basu to our country from his asylum in Japan", the writer proposes to follow him right from the year 1915, and for this purpose he has been materially helped by Shri Debnath Das.

This of course showed that his political activities were taking a definite turn towards a new phase because the political climate prevailing at the time in India did not suit him. But authentic records reveal that he was in the revolutionary movement from the year 1908. Revolutionaries like Dinanath, Tarachand, Dwarka Nath Bose, Amirchand, Chiranjilal, and others were already known to him.

After his successful escape from India in 1915 Rash Behari Bose remained underground in Japan for 8 years under the fond care of Mr. Mitsuru Toyama, the well-known

nationalist. During this period he mastered the Japanese language and thoroughly identified himself with the ways of life in Japan. He was a devout Hindu—scrupulously following the teachings of *Gita* and *Chandi*. His natural process of thinking got further incentive from the Japanese spirit that enjoins on the people the practice of chivalry, sacrifice and discipline.

After the termination of the First World War in 1918-19 Japan allied herself with Britain. Naturally, the Japanese Government could not dare displease Britain at least for the sake of protocol. Let alone supporting actively, the great revolutionary Japan refrained from speaking in favour of India's Freedom Movement. The British Embassy in Japan also was very powerful and alert. Naturally, Rash Behari Basu had to go through utmost secrecy in keeping himself entirely away from any public activity.

But, the policy adopted by the Japanese Government did not necessary conform to the wishes of the people. The people were in favour of India, especially the powerful party (a band of Samurai) and Rev. Mitsuru Toyama who shaped to a great extent the minds of the people and had a great influence with the Japanese Military.

This party tried to find some means to bring out Rash Behari Bose from seclusion into limelight. There is a law in Japan that any one staying there continually for seven years could claim Japanese citizenship. But there was no official record to the effect that Rash Behari Basu stayed there for seven years. But Rev. Toyama certified to that effect and that was taken as the official record. Rev. Toyama also arranged Rash Behari Bose's marriage with the daughter of Mr. Aizo Soma of Nakamura, a wealthy and respectable citizen of Tokyo, in order to facilitate the attainment of citizenship. So, the grim episode ended there and Rash Behari Basu got the citizenship. The question of deportation therefore did not arise.

From 1923 he worked in Japan very hard for India's independence. During a full decade he devoted himself to writing, attending group meetings and giving lectures to Japanese people from various platforms. Selfless and sincere as he was, he got immense popularity in Japan. A man of pleasing yet strong personality he was acclaimed as a great leader. Even among the Army personnel he was very popular. He was addressed as 'Sensei' meaning 'Teacher'. He published many books in Japanese on different aspects of Indian Life, eventually with a view to represent India in her true perspective. He was perhaps the first interpreter of Indian's tradition and culture, her glorious past and the resurgent present, with the result that the Japanese gradually became India-minded. From 1923 to 1933, however, the Japanese Government was indifferent due to Japan's friendly relation with Britain vis-a-vis Rash Behari Bose's activities but did not put any obstacle since he was a Japanese subject.

The Manchuria incident of 1933 (Manchurian require) was mainly responsible for censoring Japan in the League of Nations. In consequence Japan seceded from the League of Nations. Anti-British feeling thereafter came to a pitch and Rash Behari Basu took full advantage of the situation in the wake of that surging anti-British feeling. He toured all over Japan and addressed the people and gave emphasis on attainment of India's freedom because he thought that subjugated India was the base of British power in Asia. He founded "Voice of Asia", a month magazine in Japanese and English. The British Embassy could no longer stop his activities. He was getting support from the Indian community also.

From 1930 onwards the number of Indians coming to Japan was on the increase. The greater number was the businessmen, mostly Sindhis, Gujratis and Punjabis. Students from India were also coming to receive practical training in different factories especially in cotton mills. Sri Ananda Mohan Samay, another popular figure in Japan was there.



Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu appointing Netaji Subhas Chandra Basu as the President and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the I.I.L. & I.N.A. respectively, at the Cathay Theatre ground, Singapore on July 4, 1943.

Sri Sahay was wedded to the policy of the Indian National Congress. Rash Behari Basu now wanted to crystallise the Indian Independence Movement in Japan and formed the Indian Independence League in 1924. He was its Founder President, two other members being D. S. Despande and Debnath Das. The objective of the League was to call for an armed revolution in India. The Indian National Congress Committee of Japan had Ananda Mohan Sahay as its President and Debnath Das as Secretary. The objective of this organisation was to disseminate the news of India in Japan with emphasis on India's struggle for freedom. There was perfect harmony between the two organisations. In 1936 however, the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution banning the existence of such Committees as were functioning abroad in the name of the Congress because in the wake of currents and cross-currents in politics in Europe and Asia it did not want to entangle its name in any other organisations due to their controversial trends. The National Congress Committee of Japan thereafter was named the Indian National Committee of Japan. The Indian Independence League, however, was an independent body and functioned with new vigour and zeal and got more impetus following the complete break-down of the Sino-Japanese relation in 1937. In July this year Japan took Shanghai, Nanking, Amoy, Canton and controlled the whole eastern coast of China. Japan took Tientsin and ultimately Peking fell. This onslaught of Japan on China created a great reaction in India itself culminating in denouncing Japan as the worst type of aggressor with intent to pursue a new imperialistic design. After all, India's feeling was in favour of China. But Rash Behari Basu's objective was, however, crystal clear. He saw in this unhappy conflict between Japan and China the beginning of war between Great Britain and Japan as a true revolutionary wedded to India's freedom only through armed revolution ; as such, he took the side of Japan and endured all

vile criticism against him in India. He sent D. S. Despande and Debnath Das to all countries in the East with a view to contact the Indian community there and to form branches of Indian Independence League.

On 3rd September, 1939, the war broke out in Europe. A council of the Indian Independence League was formed with Rash Behari Basu as the President and Ananda Mohan Sahay and Debnath Das as its members. Shri Das was sent to Thailand and to different parts of Indo-China (Hanoi, Haiphong, Bue, Phnonmen (Cambodia) and Subarna Bhumi (Laos) to contact the Indian community. Pranalal Kapadia was sent to India to apprise Indian leaders including the Mahatma of the inevitability of war ; Mahatmaji, Pandit Nehru, Moulana Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prosad and Sarat Chandra Bose were approached. Netaji was not available as he was then in prison. This mission however was a failure. Most of the leaders denounced the policy of alignment with Japan. Sarat Ch. Bose was non-committal. However, a master plan was made by Rash Behari Basu to bring Subhas Ch. Bose to Japan. He made all arrangements with precision in consultation with the Japanese Army, Navy and Air-force. In spite of the tension between Britain and Japan, Japan was not at war with Britain at the time and the diplomatic relations continued as usual. Debnath Das was sent by him incognito in a Japanese ship and was landed at Akyab. The Consulate General of Japan was contacted to make necessary arrangement for sending Subhas Bose in a Japanese steamer right upto Akyab. The plan was that from Akyab Japanese Airlines operating there would take charge of him and would deliver him (Subhas Ch. Bose) at Tokyo. At Akyab all arrangements were complete. The Consulate General of Japan, however, faltered at the last moment. It was the master plan of that great revolutionary and had this mission succeeded the fate of I.N.A. would have been quite different.

On 8th December 1941 the South East Asian War broke out. A small booklet was published in the name of Rash

Behari Basu to be distributed amongst the Japanese soldiers marching in all parts of South-East Asia. The book guided them how to behave with Indian people especially how to respect Indian mothers and sisters. It was entirely due to Rash Behari Basu and his influence that not a single Indian daughter was molested, tortured or insulted. He formed a service corps consisting of Indian young men and appointed Debnath Das the Commander of the Corps. Swami Satyananda Puri was the President of the Service Corps. The corps marched along with the Japanese Army in Malay, Singapore and in Burma where lacs of Indians were staying. The Corps' main objective was to look to the interest of the Indian community, to protect their properties and household things including money and gold and to assure security during the operation when the areas involved became a no-man's land. This Corps gave wonderful service and created confidence in the leadership of Rash Behari Basu and the Indian Independence League. The I.N.A. was formed at Kotabaru during the process of military operation.

The operation over, the next plan of Rash Behari Basu was to consolidate the strength of the Indian community on war footing. A conference was called at Tokyo in the middle of March '42 to make preparation for the Indian Independence Conference in East and South-East Asia. Swami Satyananda Puri, the saint-patriot along with three great patriots, Giani Pritam Sing, Captain Akram Khan and Nilkantha Ayer were killed in a plane crash on their way to attend the conference. This meeting decided Bangkok as the venue of the proposed conference, and it was held at Bangkok for one week beginning from the 21st June, 1942 attended by a large number of delegates coming from all the territories liberated by the Japanese Army from the British yoke. A strong contingent of the I.N.A personnel also attended the conference as delegates of the armed forces. The Indian Independence League which was formed by Rash Behari Basu with the help of two young men in 1934 now called for the allegiance of all Indians

in East and South-East Asia under its banner. The conference formed the constitution of I.I.L., and East Asia was on war footing with the I.N.A. serving as its armed forces. This was a great day for the leader. Soon after the formation of the Council of Action some misunderstanding however crept in between the President and General Mohan Singh who was appointed as the G.O.C. of the I.N.A. In fact his approach vis-a-vis the I.N.A. was a bit communal. On small matters he began to raise new problems on so many problems already cropped up. The climax came when some high-ranking officers of I.N.A. crossed over to the enemy line. The G.O.C. did not care to receive instruction from the President ; though already alerted he conducted the military affairs—the movement of the armed forces by himself. The broad policy adopted at the conference vis-a-vis Japan was ignored. Moreover, he talked and behaved in a manner as if he was the only patriot and the rest being dictated by Japan. He ignored the fundamental truth that any deal with a foreign country especially during the war more so with a powerful ally, is to build up one's own strength and to steer through with tact, vision and self-confidence. Mohan Singh's role already divided the rank and file and created semi-chaotic condition in the I.N.A. He conspired to disband the I.N.A., Rash Behari Basu as the President dismissed him from the office of the G.O.C., demoting him from the rank of the General to Captain and subsequently ordered his arrest. Along with him Colonel N. S. Gill was also arrested. It was on the 25th December, 1942.

The I.N.A. was then in the process of reorganisation ; Major Generals J. K. Bhonsle, A. C. Chatterjee, Lokenathan, Zaman Kiani and Shah Nawaj took active part in the reorganisation of the Army. Here something should be written on Mohan Singh affairs. When Netaji took over the charge of Supreme Command of I.N.A., he reviewed the case and approved the stand taken by the former President and gave the following note.

"Mohan Singh's case reviewed. Any minister or General is at liberty to fight for his view but has no right to disband the department. Mohan Singh's conspiracy in disbanding I.N.A. is proved. Question of his re-instatement in the I.N.A. does not arise, let alone giving him higher commission."

This was approved by the Cabinet.

One thing, however, should be said about Rash Behari Basu. He had the vision and tact imbued with patriotism and sacrifice, but away as he was from the masses of India for a long time, he could not possibly assess the tremendous upsurge that got hold of the whole community including the armed forces which were also besieged with a patriotic fervour, waiting for immediate action. The mind of the Indians then was like a molten mass of steel. The leader found that the people were burning with the spirit of sacrifice and were impatient to do or die. Thanks to the endeavour and farsightedness the first phase came to an end, but it required another master mind to utilise this man-power for final onslaught against the enemy. And the providence so ordained that the appearance of Netaji on the 4th July, 1943 was made possible by him and it was a historical necessity. It was the call of the inner soul of Rash Behari Basu to hanker after the India's Man of Destiny Subhas Chandra in his unique stature to fulfill his great mission. Rash Behari Basu collected the crowd and organised them, Netaji turned them into a people united to take up challenge of history.

When on the 4th July, 1943 Rash Behari Basu handed over the charge of the Indian Independence League, it was the confluence of two master minds, one collecting the materials and putting them into the furnace, while the other processing them into steel, the steel for use at the right moment.

Rash Behari Basu retired from active life with his failing health but was ever by the side of Netaji as the Supreme Adviser of the Azad Hind Government. The great patriot used to say very often that he would give everything for the

country even his only son. It was an irony of fate that on the 7th of August 1945 just three days before the talk of surrender, the last Japanese Battleship was sunk near the Manila waters carrying to the bottom Asoka, the only son of the Patriarch. The great leader expired on the 21st January, 1945 at Tokyo. Never in the history of Japan a commoner was accorded such a state honour as was accorded to Rash Behari Basu. Netaji was represented by his ministers and Chief-of-staff at the funeral ceremony.

“Tormented but hopeful, constantly allured by the natural desire of an old exile to bury his bones in the soil of his motherland, Rash Behari waited patiently in his death-bed for the great event—the success of his life-long struggle—the liberation of India”.

But he waited in vain. India's Independence came in the year 1946 and he breathed his last in 1945, the tablet of “Bandemataram” hanging in front of his deathbed.

His dream of retirement “into seclusion in some nook or corner of our beautiful Homeland” also did not come true.

To him truth was God and we Indians, rededicate his immortal soul to Him and pray, may our people remember Rash Behari with love and spirit of dedication, “for in that harsh age” he “landed liberty” and upheld for the fallen the long-cherished independence which was their birthright.



A dinner party given in honour of Shri Rash Behari Basu at 'UENO-SEIYOKEN' on the 29th Oct. 1943.

From right :—(1) Mr. S. Tanaka, (2) Mr. Soma, (3) Shri Rash Behari Basu,
(4) Mr. Toyama, (7) General Matsui, (8) Mr. Araki, (10) Mr. Houjyo.

MY HOMAGE TO RASHBEHARI

By Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee

He was a great revolutionary leader. But was a greater man. He used to symbolise pluck, dash and ready resources. He was quite at home whether in Bengal or away from it. While in a peaceful situation or in a stormy position, he never lost his mental equilibrium. He lived in varieties of make-ups. He was unique on the world stage. None to beat him.

He was a great shock-trooper. He believed in advancing the country by push after push. That is why he appears in two garbs—a terrorist and a *pucca* army leader or a guerilla General. His spirit was in tune with the *Gita*.

Now I am culling a bit from the diary of an Ex-I.N.A. man, very well known to me..

“The civilians—Indians—formed the Indian Independent League. Most of the Indians donned the League’s badge. The League took charge of the civilians’ lives and cares. Rash Behari was its moving spirit .

June 15, 1942. The representatives of the League from Malaya, Thailand, Java, Philippine, Hongkong, China and Burma assembled at Bangkok. Some army men also joined it. The meeting elected Rash Behari the President of the Council of Action. The council consisted of two military heads and two civilian representatives. They were Captain Mohun Sing and Captain Gillani from the army and Shri Raghavan and Shri Menon from the civilians. An army would be raised under the League. Its name would be Indian National Army. Every willing soldier and officer took oath to fight for the country’s freedom. Rash Behari appointed Mohun Sing the General Officer Commanding.

The willing army men also formed among them branches of Indian Independence League.

The soldiers became I.N.A. men under Mohun Sing. They took oath to abide by his command. And here entered a fly in the ointment. After the hissing of the new ferment came a distressing situation. Mohun Sing had break with Rash Behari. The Commander expressed his desire to dissolve 'his army'. He actually did not like a Council of Action and Rash Behari above him.

What puzzled the maker of the new dispensation was Mohun Sing's personal army. Rash Behari was thus awe-stricken and dumb-founded. With all humility he proclaimed the army could never be personal. It was country's fighting force.

But Mohun Sing did not agree. He issued a declaration dissolving the I.N.A. Thus ended a glorious chapter of a new dream. The army was gone.

Rash Behari was utterly at sea. But he did not lose nerve or courage. He saw all the members of his Council of Action had resigned. He was deserted.

He now revealed his stamina and true spirit. The fight for the country's independence must continue—come what may.

He was shirked, abandoned, belittled, humbled and insulted. But with sincerity of purpose, single-mindedness, dogged determination and reliance on the highest principles he overcame the difficulty. He saw the sun behind the cloud and succeeded in forming a new I.N.A.

This time a greater call came from within. The desire for the crowning act of self-immolation and self-abnegation was peeping through the veil of a new destiny that was to usher in a new horizon. He gave the call 'Sab Nanga Ho Jao—sacrifice everything'. It opened the doors of the multi-sections of mind. It really had a magic effect.

At this great hour of victory he left no thought of personal pride in him. The country proved greater than self. The country became everything. The inspiration came 'My country, I thy glory sing'.

Not in vain he learnt self-surrender to the Superior Force that controls the destiny of men and nations.

Now at the dizzy height of the highest bliss he performed a superb form of sacrifice. He called Netaji, gave charge of the I.N.A. to him. How sublime a deed !”

A rare and most delightful example of self-effacement.

So great was Rash Behari that his height still remains unmeasured. Great is the nation that possessed such a giant. Really those were the days of the giants—the pygmies did not count.

I bow to Rash Behari's memory.

*I was a fighter,
One fight more,
The last and
The best.*

Rash Behari's

25/4/92

WITH RASH BEHARI'S DAUGHTER

Some unforgettable Moments

Dakshina Ranjan Bose

To a patriot, indeed to a lover of freedom, Rashbehari Bose is a name to conjure with. Such names are not many even in the history of India which has, I believe, the greatest number of revolutionary sons and daughters to whom no sacrifice for the liberation of the people from foreign yoke was too great. We have heard of Rashbehari, have drunk deep from the fountain of his burning patriotism and thus, we are enabled to overcome the inertia and bear all kinds of oppression and tyranny for the cause of our motherland. In later years Mahatma Gandhi's stirring call to the nation was really a fulfilment of the mission for which heroes like Rashbehari Bose lived and died.

It was a unique privilege and pleasure therefore, to me that one day I found myself in close company of Mrs. Higuchi, the daughter of Rashbehari Bose, in the capital city of Japan, viz. Tokyo. Through her veins ran the boiling blood of a revolutionary who built up a premier and pioneer organization in Japan at a time when such risks were no less than risking one's own life. What was more, Rashbehari paved the way for Netaji Subhas to storm the British stronghold and made a bid, hitherto unknown even in the history of revolutionaries, to weaken this mighty power in order that India could achieve self-rule. This explains why Japanese friends quite frequently use the word 'Boses' to mean Rashbehari Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose.

And the appearance of another 'Bose' in the midst did create some genuine interest and eagerness in them and induced them to open their arms and hearts in affection, the obvious inference being that a successor to the 'Boses' might have come.

This happening in July 1962 was as much a pleasure to me as an embarrassment. The incident, its context and consequences are not without points of interest for the readers too.

On the 16th day of July I landed at Tokyo. My lodge was the luxury Imperial Hotel to befit a state guest ! The following day, a Japanese gentleman, and a lady, came to see me. The gentleman was Mr. Suzuki, fairly known in the country, and the lady Miss Watanave. They had guessed some kinship of myself with Rashbehari Bose, and also heard that I hailed from his country, especially his home province. And this rendered their urge for a get-together irresistible. After the usual formalities, Miss Watanave was introduced to me as one who was the Personal Secretary to Rashbehari Bose for about 25 years. She was donned in "Kimono", the Japanese national dress, which is rapidly becoming more an exception than a rule. Her modest features were at once impressive and characteristic of the Buddhist tradition. One unfortunate barrier between us was that Watanave knew not English, while Suzuki could speak broken English.

I was told by Suzuki that Mrs. Tetsuko Higuchi, the daughter of Rashbehari was eager to meet me ; she would, in fact, come along but for her illness. This was something I could not but feel proud of. I had myself looked forward to such a meeting with her. And it was largely due to the goodness of those two friends, who volunteered their services readily throughout the period I had been in Japan, that the much-coveted meeting did take place and some unforgettable moments were put on the records of my humble life.

It was at the fag-end of my fortnight-long tour of Japan that we could meet at her house, and spend long two hours at that historic place where the great revolutionary breathed his last. I was scheduled to fly back home on 30th July, and on 29th, which was rather free from engagements, was earmarked for our meeting.

Suzuki hastened to my hotel quite early and piloted me first to Mrs. Majumdar of a family devoted to Rashbehari and his cause. Mr. Majumdar had established a reputation in Japan and died about a year ago having served that country for 30 years. Mrs. Majumdar could hardly check her emotion as she referred to the relation that they had the privilege to develop with Rashbehari.

The historic house was located on a comparatively lone road. The house itself was small, and that was indeed in the fitness of things with the selfless service of one whose memory this house treasured.

As we stepped in, a life-size potrait of Rashbehari placed on the wall captured our eyes. The moment was indeed moving, and soul-stirring. The potrait was garlanded and burning incense added much to the solemnity. Mr. and Mrs. Higuchi received us in warm smile and words and we paid our homage to the immortal revolutionary standing in adoring silence before the portrait. As regards language spoken, here the case was reverse : Mrs. Higuchi spoke broken English while Mr. Higuchi could speak none. The former wondered if I hailed from Bose's family : she had heard of one such relative of her father, although nothing precisely. I disclosed that I had no such blood-relation with Rashbehari, but in terms of my allegiance to what he stood for, my spiritual relation with him was no less.

The couple were extremely sweet-spoken and unassuming ; they were evidently leading a peaceful, happy life, undisturbed by the din of a city's glamour. My invitation to both of them, especially to Mrs. Higuchi, on behalf of Mahabiplabi Rashbehari Smarak Samity (Memorial Committee) to come to her father's country and grace the All India memorial celebration apparently moved her. She was, however, apprehensive of the language barrier. She spent most of her time since childhood with her 'grandmother' and hence she had no opportunity to learn Bengali. I assured her that the little amount of English that was in her possession

was enough to reach her to the hearts of India's educated classes. A more desirable step would, however, be to begin to learn Bengali, her father-tongue, and she could acquire workable knowledge of the same ere long. This was a striking proposal to her, so much so that she virtually ran into their drawing room and hurried back with paper and pen. And I had the privilege to impart to her the first lesson in Bengali! Some commonplace words also I put on her syllabus and in view of her keen interest I believe she must have mastered those words by this time.

At this stage of our discussion Suzuki informed Mrs. Higuchi that to meet me some noted litterateurs of Tokyo, headed by Prof. Akira Asano, would be 'at home' in the evening at the To To Tei hotel, Hibiya. An invitation had been extended to her also. Despite her failing health she readily agreed to attend.

At the happy 'at home' I was struck by the command that Mrs. Higuchi revealed over contemporary and ancient Japanese literature. Asano was speaking on novelist Murasaki Sikibu and essayist Sei Sonagon, when Mrs. Higuchi, a simple woman of a simpler family, intervened and pointed out the immortal contribution that poet Sikibu had made. She also recalled how many women poetesses and litterateurs had enriched literature in Heian era.

The meeting over, an enlivening informal discussion on Rashbehari Bose and his thrilling activities followed. The participants, including Miss Watanave and Mr. Suzuki repeatedly referred to the 'Boses', and stressed that ways and means for appropriate memorials to them in Japan should be expedited. All the time I noticed a glowing and reminiscent mood writ large on the face of Mrs. Higuchi, our beloved sister overseas. The next day I left for home, with pangs of separation from a sister to whom was bequeathed a hoary tradition built up by an immortal revolutionary of Bengal, nay, of India.

SRI AUROBINDO'S CONCERN ABOUT

RASH BEHARI BOSE

A Letter To Sri Motilal Roy,

President, Prabartak Samgha, Chandernagore.

Dear 'M',

Recently in the papers there has appeared a case of one Rash Behari Bose, against whom a warrant of extradition has been granted by the Chandernagore Administrator *in a political case*. Although ordinarily we do not concern ourselves with political matters, this concerns me and my friends, because it is an attack on the security of our position. If this kind of thing is allowed to go unchallenged, then any of us may at any moment be extradited on a trumped-up charge by the British police. I must, therefore, ask you to interest yourself in this matter, even though it interferes with your *Yoga*. The case is clearly a political one ; for the main charges in the Delhi case seem to be (1) a charge of conspiracy on a clause relating to state (i.e. political) offences ; (2) a charge of murder under Sec. 302 (?) read in connection with a political intention ; (3) a charge under the Explosives Act which is an extra-ordinary measure passed in view of certain political conditions. Moreover, all these cases are tried together and form part of the same transaction, i.e. a political conspiracy directed against the existing form of Government and having for its object the change or overthrow of that Government. Under the Extradition Treaty between France and England—unless that has been altered by the latest Treaty to which I have not had access,—there can be an extradition for (1) a political offence, (2) an offence of a political character or tendency, (3) on a charge which, though professed as for an ordinary offence, is really an excuse or device for laying hands on a political

FACSIMILE OF SRI AUROBINDO'S ORIGINAL
LETTER.

Dear Sir,

Recently in the papers there has appeared a copy of one Rushbrook's letter
in which a ^{written} ~~statement~~ of sedition has been provided by the Chondanagar
Administrator ~~in a political case~~. Although ordinarily we do not concern ourselves
with political matters, this case is not any private because it is an attack on the
Government of India. If the kind of thing is allowed to go unchallenged, then they
may at any moment be introduced as a trump-up charge by the British Government.
I must therefore ask you to interest yourself in this matter, so that I may be able to
write you again. This case is clearly a political one; for the main charge, in the
Delhi case ^{the} (1) a charge of conspiracy and claims relating to State (or political)
offences; (2) a charge of murder, ^{under Sec. 302(?)} and in connection with the ^{State offences} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~
an assassination with a political intention; (3) a charge under the Explosive Act.
That is an extraordinary measure, ^{it is} ~~it is~~ in view of certain political conditions.
Moreover all these cases are taken together as from part of the same transaction, as a
political conspiracy directed against the existing form of Government and having for its
object the change of the form of Government. Under the Sedition Act between
France & England - unless that has been altered by the latest treaty to which I have
not had access - there can be no sedition for (1) a political offence, (2)
an offence of a political character or tendency; (3) a charge which, though
preferred as an ordinary offence, is really an offence against the Government.

[illegible]

offender. Rash Behari Bose is reported to be in hiding either in Chandernagore or the Punjab. If anybody moves therefore, it can only be a relative or a friend on his behalf,—a relative would be much better. What you have to do is to get hold of some one entitled to act for him, consult the text of the latest Extradition Treaty between France and England and, if it is as I have stated, then let it be put in the hands of a lawyer of the French Courts who must move in the matter according to French procedure about which I know nothing. I presume he would have to move the Government in France or failing there, the *Court of Cassation* in Paris, but the latter would be an expensive affair. So long as Bose is not handed over to the British (if he is in Chandernagore), the Court of Cassation has, I should suppose, the power of cancelling the warrant. I do not know whether it is necessary first to appeal to the Procureur-General in Pondicherry before going to the Higher Court. On these points of procedure Bose's representative will have to consult a French Lawyer. In case he is handed over, the Hague decision with regard to Savarkar will come in the way and make the thing almost hopeless. The French Government might still move on the ground that Bose is a French subject, but it could only succeed by strong diplomatic pressure which the present French Government might be unwilling to employ. In any case it might be worthwhile to get a decree of the *Court of Cassation* so as to establish the principle. There is always, however, the danger in these political cases, where justice and law are so seldom observed, of an opposite decision making the position worse than before. It would be worthwhile finding out what exactly was done and on what grounds in Charu Chandra Roy's case and seeing whether these grounds can be made to apply. If you will give me the exact facts of the warrant, the charges etc., I may be able to get a letter written to France so that Jaures or others may move in the matter.....Kali".

(By Courtesy of Sri Motilal Roy)

RASH BEHARI BASU'S VIEWS ON POLITICS

Sri Srish Chandra Ghosh of Chandernagore wrote as follows in *The Standard Bearer* (Weekly), Vol. I, No. 22 (30-1-21) :

I owe a bit of apology to the public for having conveyed in my friendly anxiety a rather hasty pronouncement, liable to misinterpretation, about the present views of Sri Rash Behari Bose on politics. The letter being a private one and not meant for the Press, the writer had naturally jotted it down without the necessary caution and sufficient clearness of expression and I on my part should have published it after a more careful appreciation and consideration. My friend has therefore asked me in a subsequent letter to correct it and come out with a clearer explanation of his position. And as, in justice to my great friend's responsible position and real attitude, I can in no better terms clear up the matter than, in his own words, I forward his latest correspondence on the subject for publication. . .

Mr. Bose writes :—

My dear Srish Chandra

Your letter to hand.... The publication of my letter has been a bit premature, I think. Besides, I didn't think that you would publish it thus and almost in toto. The letter was a personal one. You should have made necessary additions and alterations before giving it to the Press. The postscript about politics you should have omitted, because it was specially meant for you. Then it was not my intention to mean politics of every kind. What I wanted to mean was secret revolutionary conspiracy. This I have eschewed. Perhaps it was my fault that I could not make myself quite clear and properly understood. The politics meant so-called politics, without any spiritual basis. You must know,



Shri Dakshina Ranjan Basu at an At Home given by Mrs. Higuchi at her residence at Tokyo.

and I think you already know, that my whole existence and *Sadhana* are for the sole purpose of the political, social, moral and economic regeneration of India on a spiritual foundation. I think that the postscript might give rise to misunderstanding. Can you correct it by another letter over your own name? For in my last letter, I meant politics as hitherto followed by us and not politics of every type. Our activities must be open and above-board. Secret conspiracies cannot bring in salvation. Whatever we have got to say or do, we must say or do it openly. I hope now you understand me correctly.

With love.

Yours affly.,

RASH BEHARI

To,

Srish Ghosh

“You will perhaps be glad to know that I have got myself naturalised here. This will enable me to travel in any part of the world except the British possessions. . . . Before the naturalisation I was practically cooped up in a cage. I could not even travel inside Japan freely, not to speak of visiting Korea, China or Russia. The British were all along keeping their eyes on me. But now I am beyond their control and jurisdiction and they can't do anything legally”.

Yours affly,

RASH BEHARI

A LIFE-STORY OF
RASH BEHARI BASU

By Kshitish Chandra Das

About sixty-seven or sixty-eight years ago two teen-agers were seen treading a lonely burning ghat on the west bank of the Bhagirathi at Chandernagore, often at dead of night. Believe it or not, their game was to collect the human skulls from the burning ghat and bring those home for play.

With age one of them became gradually interested in heroic books and exploits rather than in the mud-rut of a docile academic career. If he read at all, it was either *Anandamath*, *Palashir Yuddha* (Battle of Plassey) and such other books, avoiding of course the school books. At this time Niralamba Swami, alias Jatindra Nath Bandyopadhyaya with the message of militant Nationalism of Sri Aurobindo appeared in Bengal. One of the two boys we are speaking of is known through authentic sources to have been influenced by Swamiji with other noted revolutionaries of Chandernagore. He joined the Suhrid Sammelani of Charu Chandra Roy, an organisation aimed at furthering the revolutionary activities in the country. The boy was then fifteen. There are records to show that though still under teens he became anxious to enlist in the French Indian Army of Pondicherry, but being refused there he again tried to enter an Indian army of a Native State of Upper India and so left Chandernagore, but one of his father's friends caught hold of him on the way and he was brought back to Chandernagore.

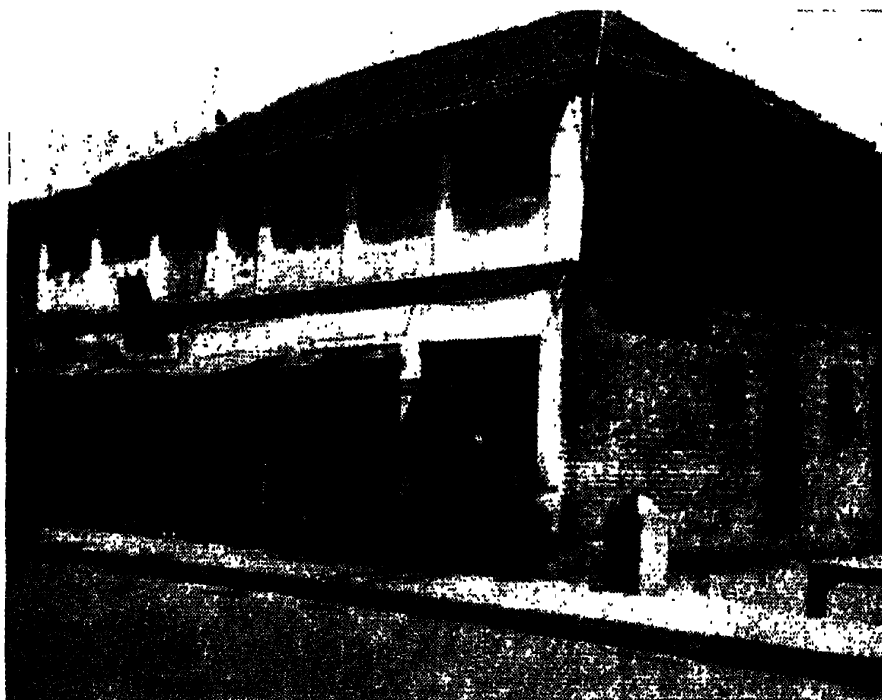
The boy could not reconcile his mind and got a clerical job at the Fort William in Calcutta. Not satisfied with this job, he secured a job at Kasauli under military department to serve his purpose. What was this purpose? None could



Shri Rash Behari Basu leader of Indian Revlutionaries.



20, Ramanand Chatterjee Street (Badur bagan Row) where Shri Basu received injuries.



296/1 Inner Circle Road, Cal. Where Shri Basu was removed

define. But when his father, who was an assistant in the India Government Press at Simla saw that the boy forsook his study, he arranged a service for him in the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun. Was the undaunted spirit which prevailed in the boy at the Burning Ghat a few years ago thus quelled? Who could say when it developed into an impulse and an urge for which he was destined?

Apparently a mere young loyal clerk about 22 years of age in the Forest Research Institute could have nothing to do with a secret revolutionary organisation gradually extending from Northern India to Bengal unnoticed by anybody. An intense anti-British feeling had spread all over the country amongst the classes and masses following the notorious Curzonian Partition of Bengal. The great Trio Lal-Bal-Pal thundered publicly from the Himalayas to the Cape. Meanwhile the militant Nationalism or the Cult of Armed Revolution stealthily worked fast underground in Bengal, Maharashtra and the Punjab under different organisations, but their objective and *modus operandi* were of the same pattern. The Ruling Power was not sleeping. their vigilance grew more intensive and extensive as the revolutionaries became active. Several cases of murder of the ruling people and a few dacoities here and there made the brute force of the Ruling Power more brutal in persecution, oppression and suppression; some were hanged, many were sent to jails, transported to the Andamans, exiled from the country to foreign lands. A reign of terror swept over Bengal. But the more the ruling British power was ruthless to persecute the youngmen of patriotic zeal, the more the organisation of the "Loyal" clerk began to spread secretly on all directions. Expert in the art of make-up, elusive in its movements and perfect in execution, this revolutionary youth yet was taken as a most loyal subject of the British Raj. Wonder of wonders, the police had such confidence in him that even Mr. Denham, the then Police Chief entrusted him to report about the activities of Chandernagore group of revolutionaries.

Nobody would get scent of his movements. Thus we find when the police raided the Muraripukur garden two letters of one Rash Behari Basu were found but who was that. Rash Behari the police failed to detect. The police chiefs were sorely tried.

Who was this indomitable youth of unparalleled energy organising the revolutionary party baffling all the power tactics of the police? Who was he?

A tiny little son was born in 1886 on the 25th May to one Benode Behari Basu of Subaldah in the district of Burdwan at his maternal uncle's home at Palara-Bighati in Hooghly. The boy lived at Chandernagore where his father shifted from Subaldah when he was about 4 or 5 years of age. The boy lost his mother within a few years. How did he grow up? Did Nature take the child to herself and made him her own? We do not know. We are not capable enough to pry into the mysteries of the unknown. We only know that this stripling of a boy evolved into a historical force that ignited a spark which ultimately shook the British Raj. This force in its material garb—was called Rash Behari Basu, a force undefinable in quality as an upheaval of nature.

Rash Behari's movements were secret but perfect just like Nature's. He made a campus at Dehra Dun. From there he maintained his contacts with the revolutionaries of Upper India and Bengal successfully. In 1908-09 the Punjab revolutionary leaders including Lala Har Dayal, Sufi Ambaprasad, Sardar Ajit Singh, Moulvi Barkatullah were forced to go out of the country to foreign lands. On the other side Bengal revolutionaries accused in the Murari Pukur case, were sentenced, transported to the Andamans and many others were jailed. All this is generally known now.

It is also known that Rash Behari took up the leadership of the Upper India revolutionaries, occasionally visited Bengal, met his allies Sri Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, Jatindra Nath Mukherjee, Sris Chandra Ghosh, Amrita Lal

Hazra, Pratul Ganguly and others. Through Rao Gopal Sing Rathor, a Jagirdar of Ajmer, he also extended his organisation to Rajputana and one of his best colleagues Bhai Bal Mukund was stationed at Jodhpur as the private tutor of the prince of Jodhpur Raj. Thus did the force gather its momentum.

Since 1909 Rash Behari was most vigorous in his campaign and strengthening his organisation. Sometime in 1911 or 1912 he once came to Bengal and met Sri Amarendra Nath Chatterjee at his shop Sramajibi Samabaya wherefrom he took Shri Basanta Kumar Biswas to work with him in Upper India.

It was in 1912 according to a written statement of Shri Motilal Ray of Chandernagore, that Rash Behari Basu came in his contact for the first time with Sris Chandra Ghose and discussed with him about the tenets of the Bhagabad Geeta. It is reported that the bomb which he threw at the Viceroy on a later date was manufactured at Chandernagore. According to another version it was manufactured elsewhere in Calcutta. Whatever it might be, he was closely associated with Chandernagore group as well as others in Bengal. He maintained his link with Sri Aurobindo through Sri Roy all along.

Meanwhile the background was unfolding. Due to the ceaseless agitation Swadeshi movement of Bengal spread all over the country on one hand and the occasional but systematic revolutionary onslaughts upon the British Officials and their subordinates on the other, the ruling British authorities became furious and set up a sort of counterforce to meet the force, we have referred to. They succeeded temporarily in quelling the revolutionaries by putting them into Jails, banishing some of the leaders beyond the shores, sentencing many to transportation in the Andamans and putting some into the gallows, as they realised more and more that the Britishers were not safe in Bengal. But the counterforce lost its ground. The countrywide agitation for

Swadeshi and boycott of British goods added with occasional outburst of revolutionary activities had compelled the British to annul the partition of Bengal, to pacify the agitation and it was decided to shift the capital from Calcutta to a safer zone at Delhi. The date of the transfer was scheduled on the 23rd December 1912.

While this counterforce of the British were self-complacent upon the decision of transferring the capital from Bengal to Delhi and were making pompous arrangements for its inauguration in right royal fashion, the force asserted itself. Rash Behari with his trusted troupe of Upper India colleagues was marking time to disillusion the Britishers who wanted to become safer in Delhi. Hence that unprecedented act which is now a page in history.

On the 23rd December 1912, Lord Hardinge—the Viceroy of India was passing in a royal procession through the Chandni Chawk of Delhi. Suddenly a bomb was hurled at him. The Viceroy was hurt but the Mahut of his elephant was killed. The bomb was the weapon which history was forging in a factory of its own.

The British became furious in their attempt to detect the origin but failed. They arrested a host of revolutionaries of Delhi and Upper India, tried them in Delhi, Lahore, sentenced many of them to different terms of punishment. Bhai Bal Mukund, Master Amirchand and Abadh Behari were sentenced to death. Basanta Kumar Biswas was sentenced to transportation first, but the appellate Court of Lahore sentenced him to death. Others were sent to jail on different terms of imprisonment. Dinanath and Sultan Chand turned approvers and thus released on 5th October, 1914.

At length the British Government realised that the real leader of the party was Rash Behari and a big reward was announced for his arrest.

Undaunted by the Government notification, Rash Behari was moving from one end of the country to the other in organising his army of revolution. He was busy sowing the

seeds of revolution in the British Indian Army personnel. He realised that unless internal and external attacks were made simultaneously, it would be difficult to defeat the mighty British Raj. He thus extended his contact from Kobe to Kabul, from San Francisco to Berlin, planned a general rising of the Indian Army in India, Burma and Singapore. He had a resolute and trusted group of Lieutenants as Sachin Sanyal, Pingle, Kartar Singh Saraba, Rao Gopal Singh, Pratap Singh Barhat, to name only a few. Thousands of Gadr people from America had arrived in the Punjab though a portion of them were arrested at Budge Budge in the Komagatu Maru episode. Rash Behari had planned for German co-operation and help with a German representative sitting in the old Palace named Madan Mahal, a few miles away from Jabalpore in 1914, some months before the first Great War broke out. Bengal revolutionaries under Jatindra Nath Mukherjee were entrusted with the charge. The details of Indo-German conspiracy and the story of Maveric are known to the people.

An English writer noted for his wit has said somewhere, miracle is that miracles never happen. One is likely to reject this observation if one cares to go through the happenings of Rash Behari's life. Apart from the bigger events, it was filled with small incidents which are nothing less than miracle. Once at Benares while with Sachin Sanyal he was examining bombs in the house of Dr. Kali Prasanna Sanyal, one of the bombs exploded suddenly and he received a severe wound in his leg. Sachin Sanyal received a minor injury. Dr. Sanyal was treating him in a separate house, his minor girl Ushangini nursed him, when a notification of Government reward for his arrest was noticed by Dr. Sanyal at Dashashwamedh Ghat. Rash Behari was at once removed to a place at Harish Chandra Ghat carried as a dead man on a cot from Bangalitola for his safety. Once again while he was examining revolvers brought from Dacca at a mess at Badur Bagan, Calcutta, where his colleagues Shri Nalini Kishore

Guha and others lived, suddenly due to mishandling of the trigger of a revolver a bullet burst forth and hurt his hand. Apprehending the arrival of the police Pratul Ganguly arranged his removal under a guise from Badur Bagan to a house in Upper Circular Road, wherefrom he went to Chandernagore. His presence of mind saved him on many occasions. Once the police surrounded a house at Chandernagore suspecting him to be there. He outwitted the police in a moment assuming the role of a sweeper and with a bucket of night soil on his head escaped the clutches of the police who were thus befooled.

The first Great War broke out. Rash Behari took up the cue as he considered it a golden opportunity when there were only 30,000 soldiers in India most of whom were Indians. The Military barracks from Rawalpindi to Dacca on the east and Jabalpure on the south were contacted. Emissaries were sent to distant Burma and Singapore. The plan was that the outbreak of the revolution would begin with the German arms supply in Bengal in the east; other revolutionaries in collaboration with the Tribal leaders of Baluchistan would be active on signal in the Baluchistan frontier and he would personally lead the campaign from Lahore inside the country, while Sachin Sanyal would be at Benares and Pingle in Meerut, Kartar Singh Saraba in the Punjab and Nalini Mukherjee at Jabalpure. During December 1914, he along with Sachin Sanyal, Pingle and Kartar Singh and Pandit Paramanand Jhansi arrived in Lahore in the house of Ramsaran Das, a colleague of him, when the question of hiring a house for Rash Behari arose. A Government Circular came to their notice stating that any outsider without a family with him willing to hire a house must have to inform the local police of his identity before he hired a house. All of them were startled at this and became downcast, but the role of Ramasaran Das's patriotic wife saved the situation. She volunteered to live with "Basuji" as husband and wife for as many days as required and thus

ultimately the house was hired and they lived in the same house till 21st February 1915, the scheduled date of the Armed Rising all over the country.

All arrangements were thus complete. But the destiny would have it otherwise. A traitor amongst the colleagues reported about the plan to the British, who became alert and vigilant. Rash Behari also got the scent of this betrayal and therefore antedated the rising. This too was intimated to the British Officers by the same traitor, thus the whole plan was frustrated. The British revenge was again at work. Many were again killed and put to prison and rebel troops were disarmed and disbanded. Had the news of antedating of the rising on 19th February reached the respective centres in time, the result would perhaps have been different. But this time the police were determined to arrest Rash Behari. They mobilised all the police force at Punjab to cordon Lahore where they believed Rash Behari was living in hiding. He was there. This time also the police were befooled. On the 22nd February in broad daylight he got up into an Upper India train with a high police officer in the same compartment and left Lahore, broke his journey midway and in a down train arrived at Benares.

His organisation of the revolution was so perfectly set up that if it were not divulged beforehand, the fate of the British rule in India would have been otherwise. Let us quote below from Michael O'Dwyer's book "India as I knew it":—

"It was at this critical stage that Rash Behari, the organiser of the Delhi and Lahore outrages of 1912-13 moved up into the Punjab to take general charge of the operations. He brought an astute but daring Marhatta Brahmin of Poona, V. G. Pingle, who had returned from America with the Sikh revolutionaries, as one of his chief lieutenants. These two became the brains of the conspiracy after so many of the Tasu Maru men had fallen into our hands. Bhai Parmananda, M.A., a professor in the Arya Samaj College at Lahore, was one of the links between the disaffected sections of the Gadr

Party. He had returned from America before the war broke out.

“On the morning of the 19th February, we had information from our spies that Rash Behari and Pingle had moved their headquarters to Lahore, that suspecting the leakage of their plans they had decided to antedate the rising to the night of the 19th and had sent messages and emissaries to various selected centres, including several cantonments, to act accordingly. We had then to act.

“The rebel headquarters in four separate houses were raided by our police that afternoon, headed by the very brave and able officer Liyakat Hayat Khan and Mr. L. L. Tomkins, the efficient head of the C.I.D. Thirteen of the most dangerous revolutionaries were captured with their paraphernalia of conspiracy—arms, bombs, bomb making materials, revolutionary literature and four rebel flags (one of which I claimed and hold as a souvenir). Unfortunately Rash Behari and Pingle were not among those who were captured.”

“Both escaped down country. Pingle was arrested in the lines of the 12th Cavalry after a few weeks at Meerut with a collection of bombs brought from Bengal and sufficient in expert opinion to blow a regiment”.

Rash Behari arrived in Benares, met his colleagues including Sachin Sanyal and Giriya Babu. He appraised the whole situation, but though undaunted apprehended that his arrest might sometime happen. The party was suffering from want of finance to reorganise. Rash Behari then told his colleagues that as he might be arrested at any time by the British police, it was better to hand him over to the police and thus receive the fabulous money declared as reward to be given him who could arrest Rash Behari alive or dead. None of course listened to him ; he then revised his whole scheme and chalked out a new plan to fight the British again to free India. Here begins the second phase of the activities of the force that history was moulding through Rash Behari.

The victory of the Japanese over the Russians in 1904-05 in the East encouraged the Asian revolutionaries with a belief that backed by a foreign power adequately the Whites could be removed from Asia. Rash Behari decided to leave the country and go to Japan wherefrom he would work out his new planning.

But how would he leave India? It required a passport. He left Benares for Bengal. The British police were always trying to round him up but always failed. There is a story that on his way to Bengal he got down at Azimganj station at day-time and found a proclamation notice of the reward on his arrest on the notice board. He then crossed the Ganges, went to Plassey in the morning and passed the day without being recognised in the military camp of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal there. On the following day he arrived at Navadwip. But how to get the passport? At the time poet Tagore's proposed visit to Japan was announced. Rash Behari took this opportunity and managed to secure a passport in the name of Raja P. N. Tagore—passing as poet Tagore's advance emissary there.

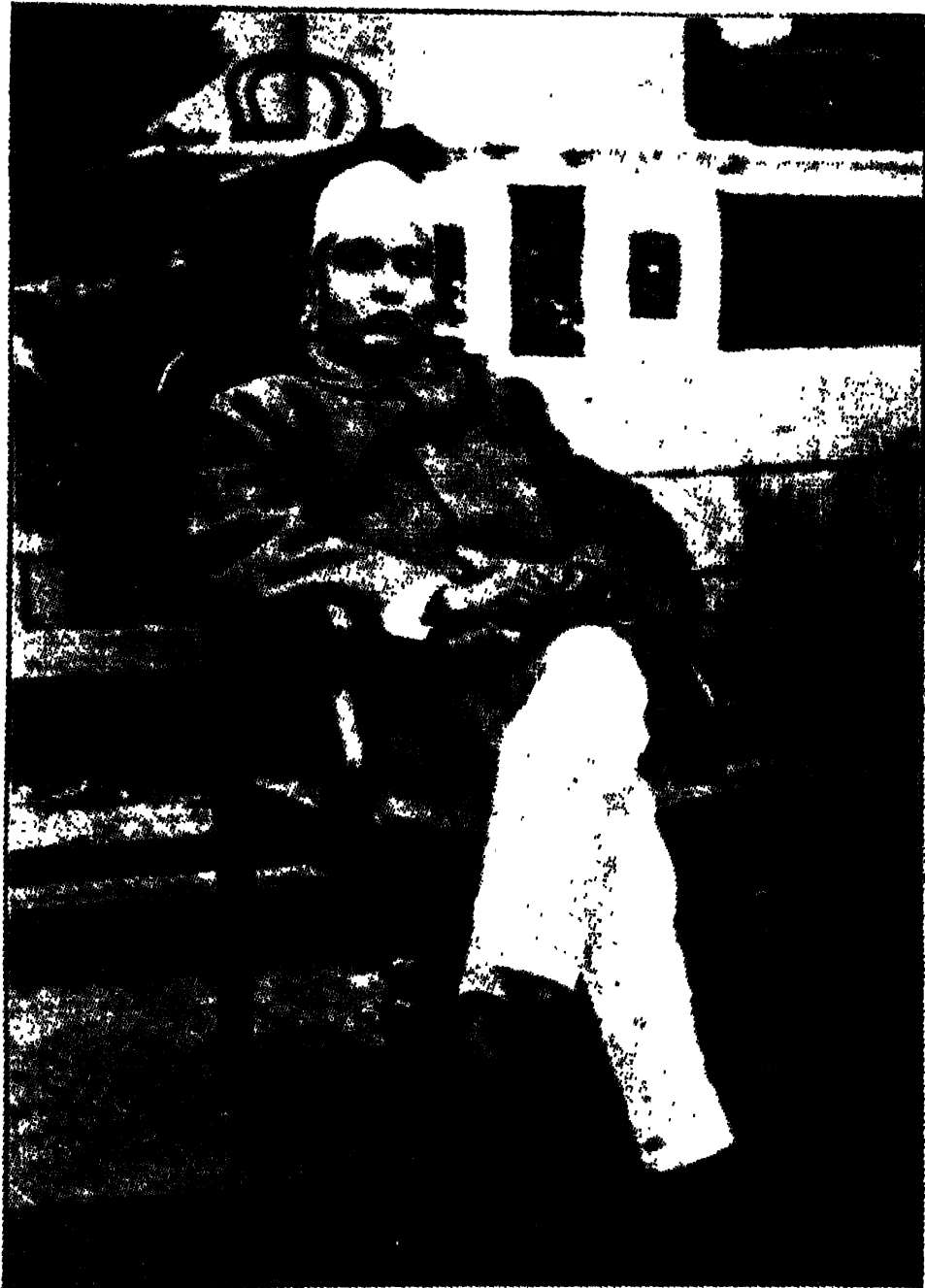
At last the fateful date came on the 12th May, 1915. He left the shore of his motherland by s.s. "Sanuki Maru" from No. 12 jetty of Kidderpore dock. His beloved aides Sachin Sanyal and Girija Babu bade him adieu at the jetty. They had accompanied him all the way from Nimtola Ghat Street to the jetty in a hackney carriage. At one stage Sachin Sanyal felt depressed on his leaving the country and said so. Rash Behari consoled and told him, "I am going to a foreign land to bring arms and ammunitions to equip our own boys and girls fully and then see how the Britishers remain here."

His words materialised in a way after 27 years when the Second World War broke out. Rash Behari as the President of the Indian Independence League declared war against the British from Japan on the 28th December, 1941.

Rash Behari arrived at Kobe in June 1915. He went to Tokyo from where he went to Sanghai and managed to send two ship-loads of arms and ammunitions bound for India. Here again the hands of traitor worked and those were confiscated in the mid-sea by the British. If Dharendra Nath Sen and Heramba Lal Gupta were alive today, they could divulge the secret of this treachery. They died in Mexico long after this tragic incident. Rashbehari, however, returned to Tokyo and met late S. K. Majumdar on the 3rd day of his arrival there with two stout Pathan guards accompanying him. He came in touch with Dr. Okhawa—the leader of the Japanese Military Rising of later days. Another Indian revolutionary, late Heramba Lal Gupta, son of Umesh Chandra Vidyaratna of Jessore, had arrived there from America to organise the revolutionaries in Japan. Lala Lajpat Rai was also there. They met together, organised a public meeting at Kyoto town on the 27th November 1915 and severely attacked the British Imperialism in India. The news were published in all leading newspapers of Japan with broad head lines. The British Embassy at Tokyo was upset.

The British Embassy at Tokyo became anxious to know the real identity of this P. N. Tagore. Soon they were made to realise that the person was none else than Rash Behari Basu. At once the British Embassy influenced the Japanese Government to issue an extradition order on Rash Behari Basu, Lala Lajpat Rai and Heramba Lal Gupta. Lalaji left for America but Rash Behari and Heramba Lal Gupta stayed there in hiding.

The events from now on till Rash Behari acquired citizenship of Japan 8 years later, are depicted in a separate article of Mrs. Kokkoh Soma, his mother-in-law published elsewhere. It shows how in spite of severe British police vigilance during this period he could establish his status and links in the upper class Japanese Society political and otherwise. The readers would understand from the two letters of Rash Behari



Lala Lajpat Rai

to Sachin Sanyal, also published elsewhere in this volume, the superb qualities of his intelligence and acumen, charming personality, amiable character but indomitable courage in forging ahead so far as his objectives were concerned. His memory was prodigious. While he was underground he learnt the Japanese language in course of only four and half months, without the help of any tutor, a fact which the reader would find in Mrs. Kokkoh Soma's article. But it may not be out of place to mention that the British spies were so active in their pursuits that Rash Behari had to change his residence 17 times during these 7 years. But the Japanese spies engaged by the British Embassy to detect him ultimately became his loyal followers.

The privations and hardships Rash Behari and his wife had to suffer during the period until he acquired Japanese citizenship in 1923 could better be felt than expressed. The couple cheerfully endured all these. In his wife Shrimati Tohiko Basu he had a living shield to keep him always out of danger. She was the eldest and beloved daughter of a rich Samurai family, yet she shared poverty with her husband cheerfully. Due to want of adequate finance to live on once they had to live in such a dark room where the sun could not be seen even in day-time and that in the land of the Rising Sun. Here his only son Mashahide was born. But during this period Dr. Sun Yat Sen came to Japan as an exile and met Rash Behari at Mr. Tōyama's house. The house was the shelter of Asian revolutionaries in Japan in their need. Mr. Mitsui was another personality equally respected from the Imperial palace to the cottage of the peasant and was the Chief of the powerful Black Dragon Society of Japan. They met often and discussed about the liberation of Asian people from White domination and at last the course of action was chalked out and Dr. Sun Yat Sen was asked to return to his country to resume his activities. Dr. Sun Yat Sen expressed his financial difficulties in going to his country and resume his work. He had no passage money even. Where-

upon Rash Behari, though he was in the underground, paid him 20,000 francs. Dr. Sun Yat Sen returned to China. Anushilan Samity of Bengal occasionally sent him money for sending arms through different channels. The role of Shri Anukul Chakraborty is worth mentioning in this connection. He was naturalised in 1923 but unfortunately within a very short time, soon after Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore visited his house at Tokyo during Tagore's second visit in Japan, Rash Behari's beloved wife passed away leaving behind one infant son and one daughter and her beloved husband to mourn her loss for the remaining period of his life.

It needs to be mentioned that Poet Tagore's affection for Rashbehari was so deep that when he learnt after his return from Japan that Rashbehari's house was demolished by earthquake he immediately sent an amount of Rs. 600/- and odd from Santiniketan.

The famous art critic of Japan Mr. Nakayama Tadanao wrote about Basu's life in Toyo (Orient) in 1924. This was developed and republished as a book in 1942 by him. No copy of the book is now available in Tokyo.

Rash Behari founded the Indian Independence League in 1924 there, and established Pan-Asian Association in 1926. Since then he established his position in Japan, achieved eminence and he was held in such respect by the youth of Japan that he was complimented as 'Sensei' meaning Teacher.

Hospitable in distress, a shelter to the destitute, a friend to the needy, Rash Behari established a hotel for the Asians in general and Indians in particular at Nakamura-ya, where the Indian students and visitors could get Indian meals and all other help in their needs. He was a benefactor of the Indians in Japan.

His political activities now began to flare up. He started the *New Asia* and the *Asian Review*. He also became a regular contributor, even a leader writer in the Japanese Magazines.

He had come to believe that unless the Japanese people-cum-Government be made to realise the problems of India and Asia the desired help from Japan in time could not be available. This was his experience from the Japanese attitude during the first Great World War.

He felt that propaganda was absolutely necessary. He thus published his first book in Japanese styled as *Panoramic Views of Asian Revolution* (1929), followed by *Wits and Humours of India* (1930), *India Oppressed* (1933), *Stories of the Indian People* (1935), *India in Revolution* (1936), *Victories of Young Asia* (1937), *India Crying* (1938), "Bhagavad-Geeta" (1940), *Tragic History of India* (1942), *India in Bondage* (1942), *Dawn of Independent India* (1942), *Struggle for Independence* (1942), "Ramayana" (1942), *India of Indians* (1943), *Last Song* (Tagore's *Shesher Kabita*) (1943) and *Bose Appeals* (1944)—all these in Japanese to convince the Japanese people and draw their sympathy for the people of India.

Events however took what may be termed as a dramatic turn with the Second World War breaking out in 1939 and Japan declaring war against the Allies on December 8, 1941.

Rash Behari became busy in strengthening the forces. The lives and honour of 2 millions of Indians in the S.E. a Free Nation. The Japanese War Cabinet accepted the programme of the Indian Independence League. The Japanese occupied the South-East Asian countries in quick succession. Rash Behari influenced the Japanese War Cabinet to declare the safety of the Indians in the occupied countries. The lives and honour of 2 mililons of Indians in the S.E. Asia were thus saved. All these are pages of recent history, more or less known ; as also the exploits of I.N.A. led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

History however is like a floating iceberg. Some part of it is seen. Quite a substantial part remains at the bottom. With Japan's participation in the War, Rash Behari's activities came to assume that part of the floating iceberg. In-

instinctively he realised that time had come for him to recede to the bottom. He must transfer the torch, he was bearing. To whom? Of course, to a younger person, to one who was more directly in touch with India and the Indians during the long period of his forced exile from Motherland. He looked for a leader, negotiated with Veer Savarkar even before Japan declared war, intimating his preparations and objectives. Veer Savarkar also conveyed the news to Deshsevak Subhas Chandra Bose. These are also matters of history known to our countrymen and Rash Behari ultimately invited Subhas Chandra to take over. This culminated in the voluntary hand-over of the Supreme Command of I.N.A. formed and regularised by Rash Behari, on 4th of July, 1943 in Singapore. Fifty thousand Indians in Singapore heard Rash Behari announce on that day: "In your presence to-day I resign my office and appoint Deshsevak Subhas Chandra Bose, as President of Indian Independence League"—and Netaji declare "I accept the responsibilities". The torch was transferred. The government of Azad Hind was established on the 21st October 1943; on the 21st January, 1945, the hero of the two Indian Revolutions breathed his last with plaque of Bandemataram overhead, and Tulsi bead in his hand. The death news was announced by a Royal proclamation over radio, and his dead body was carried to the Yojoji temple the next morning by the decorated Imperial bier sent from the Imperial palace.

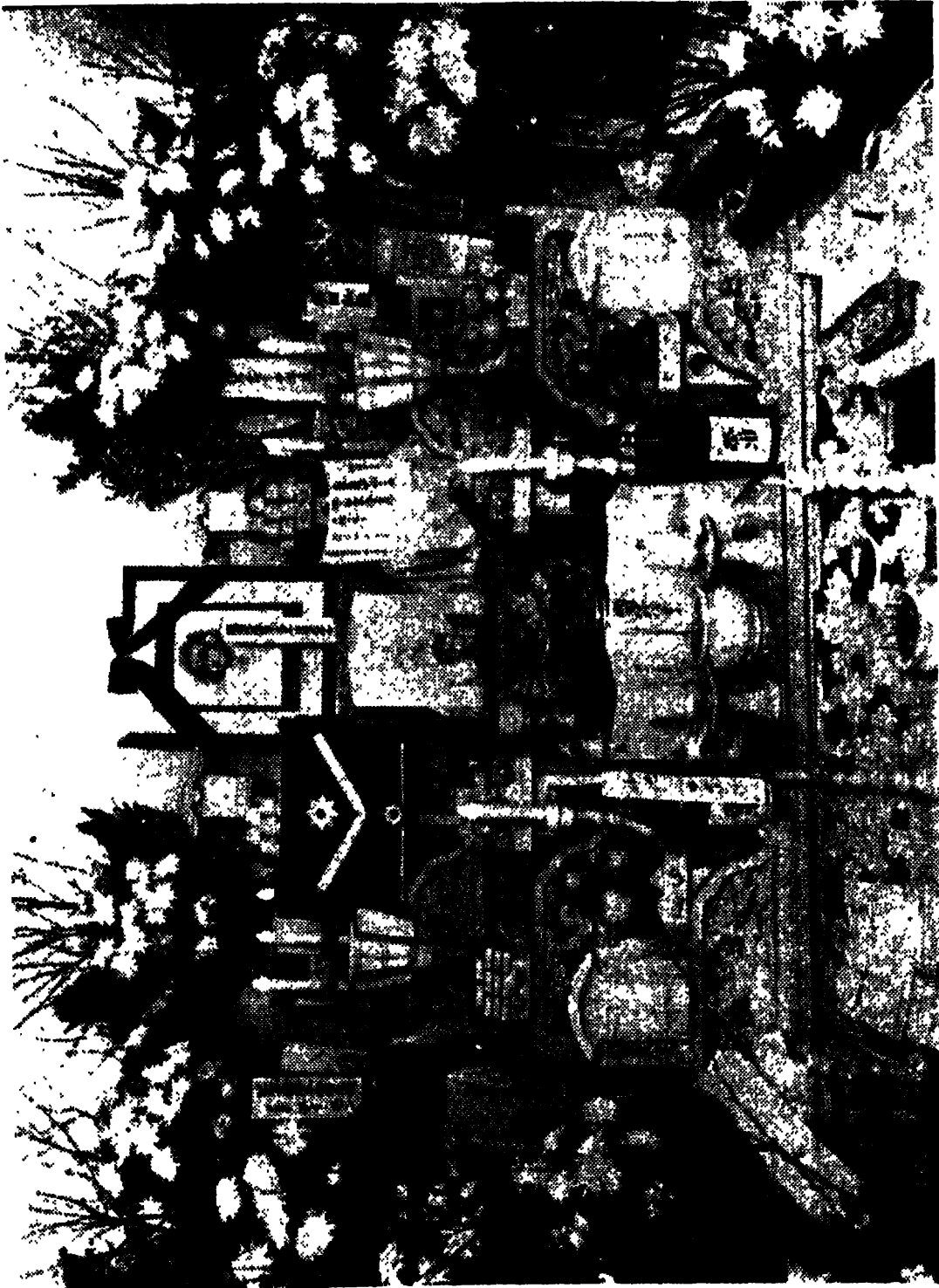
A few days before this His Majesty the Emperor of Japan's Government honoured him with the award of the Second Order of the Merit of the Rising Sun.

In his Will it was revealed that he desired his dead body not to be burnt. His head was to be sent to the University for research, but his most loving mother-in-law did not agree.

We had spoken of a historical force in the beginning. The selfsame force had shaped the torch, we have now.

The iceberg moves on. The part of it is only above water. The greater part still remains submerged.

Bandemataram





Prayer meeting at the Cultural (Sradh) Ceremony of late Shri Basu, Mr. Masahede Basu son of late Shri Basu first from the left, on the first row Miss Jetsuka Basu, daughter of late

Shri Basu first from the left on the second row.

THE GREAT INDIAN PATRIOT

Dr. Kalidas Nag

Japan, after the World War II, is engaging the attention of politicians and journalists of Asia, Europe and America. But people perhaps have forgotten that Japan inaugurated a new Age in Asia by her great victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Ten years before that, Swami Vivekananda visited Japan (1893) and the great Art critic Okakura spent some time in Calcutta as a guest of the Tagore family and wrote his famous book "Ideals of the East" (prefaced by Sister Nivedita). Many renowned Japanese painters also collaborated with the artists of the Tagore School. Thus Japan and Bengal co-operated intensely in the days of the Bengal Partition and the Swadeshi Movement.

Rash Behari Bose was an underground worker and ruthless enemy of the British Raj. It is very appropriate therefore that the Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samity has undertaken to publish a Commemoration Volume of Rash Behari Bose, covering his life and activities, his speeches, writings, discourses of social and national subjects along with various other details of the Indian Independence League and the I.N.A., besides many other tributes and articles about him.

After hurling the bomb on Lord Hardings and mobilising the Lahore Conspiracy, Rash Behari eluded the British police and reached Japan in 1915, and after full thirty years of silent services in the cause of India's liberation, he died in Tokyo in January 1945, a few months before the collapse of Japan with the hurling of Atomic Bombs. But before his death Rash Behari had the satisfaction of handing over the Indian Independence League and the I.N.A. to his worthy

successor Netaji Subhas, who, with phenomenal genius developed and mobilised the ride tide of nationalism in South East Asia and fought his ways through Malaya and Burma right into the heart of British Assam. The great Epic of Asian liberation from the domination of Western Imperialism could be fully described after years of patient documentation and this Volume would be an essential Chapter of the same. But it is very appropriate that while our National Government is sponsoring the compilation of the History of our Freedom Movement, the Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samity has given us in this Volume the East and South Eastern Chapter of that episode as also a glimpse of Indian Chapter. Our Indian merchants and students in Japan may also plunge into the files of Japanese periodicals and retranslate relevent passages on the wonderful career of Rash Behari Bose. He has written many books in Japanese and it is expected that the Smarak Samity may prepare in future popular versions of these works in Bengali, Hindi and other Indian languages.

